Editorial

This second issue of volume 7 opens with a set of papers originally presented in January 2018 during the Annual Meeting of the *Society for Classical Studies*, the principal learned society in North America for the study of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds, where since 2015 MOISA has organized panels as an affiliated group. As explained in the introduction, written by the organizers Sean Gurd and John Franklin, all the contributions (by Bradley Hald, Spencer Klavan, Sarah Nooter, and Andreas Kramarz) are dedicated to the common theme of the soundscapes of war, a quite unusual but extremely interesting topic encompassing musical psychology, organology, and cultural semantics.

The issue continues with a series of papers dedicated to different subjects, which once again demonstrate the variety of interests and approaches of scholarly research on ancient music: through the analyses of three early red-figure vases, Egert Pöhlmann explores to what extent Greek musical education made use of writing tools; Theodora Hadjimichael focuses on the ancient criticism of Kinesias, the 5th-century BC poet who embodied the musicopoetic *paranomia* more widely attributed to the phenomenon of New Music; Dietmar Najock discusses some details of his recent interpretation of the *Hormasia* Tables (a series of tables in Greek musical notation preserved in a 11th-century manuscript), in order to improve it; finally, Kostantine Panegyres concentrates on the rare verb λελεγίζω, investigating its possible meanings and connections with other technical terms.

In conclusion, we are very pleased to publish detailed reports of two remarkable Graduate Conferences which occurred in the same year in the UK (Oxford) and Italy (L'Aquila), written by their young and enthustiastic organizers: these papers demonstrate that a new generation of scholars from different countries is emerging in the field and contributing to our understanding of the music of Greek and Roman Antiquity.

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The Sounds of War
Introductory Remarks

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Abstract

This paper serves as a brief introduction to a series of articles dedicated to the theme of the soundscapes of war in Classical Antiquity.

Keywords

These papers began life at the snowy Boston meeting of the Society for Classical Studies in January, 2018. They variously analyze the ancient battlefield through musical psychology, soundscapes, organology, and cultural semantics. There unfolds an examination of how battle scenes operated as soundscapes in a significant number of diverse authors. Bradley Hald finds, on the Thucydidean battlefield, an acoustic epistemology wherein sound has powerful affective force that contrasts strongly with the cooler, more confident wisdom associated with sight. Spencer Klavan tells a related story of a Hellenistic philosophical debate, resurrected from the columns of Philodemus' *De Musica*, over the 'meaning' of the *salpinx*. Did the war trumpet arouse soldiers because of inherent physical or physiological causes that operated like a natural force? Or were its martial 'signals' quasi-linguistic, a semantic convention? Sarah Nooter also focuses on the *salpinx* and its representation in Archaic and Classical Greek literature. Here the instrument is made both infallible and a sign of enormous power, human and divine alike. Finally, Andreas Kramarz offers a new reading

of perhaps the best known use of martial sound from the ancient world—the tale of the destruction of Jericho's city walls.

A number of common themes emerge. Most obvious is a single instrument: the *salpinx*, an aerophone which amplifies the sound of the player's vibrating lips. This instrument, in several cultural forms, resonates in the essays of Klavan, Nooter, and Kramarz. Closely related is an interest in the role of divinity: for both Nooter and Kramarz the sound of battle is allied to the will of gods or God. A third theme is affect on the battlefield. For Hald, affect—which he stresses should not be simply equated with emotion—is unmistakably destructive: soldiers react to unwelcome sounds with panic and disorder. Klavan's philosophers were concerned with an opposite affect—the *salpinx*'s power to encourage and energize. But both acknowledge that sound may be linked to affect; and that this, on the battlefield, is an important tactical variable.

The explorations presented here are hardly exhaustive. They focus on sounds of musical instruments or the human voice; their emphases are cultural, philosophical, and historical. Nevertheless they present a coherent picture, and will be a strong foundation for further elaboration of the soundscapes of ancient war.

BRILL

Affective Soundscapes in Thucydidean Battle Narrative
Sphacteria and Epipolae

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Abstract

Thucydides' *History* is deeply committed to the conventional correlation in Greek thought between sight and knowledge. In the Methodology chapters (1.20-3), the historian grounds his investigative project in visual metaphor: it is a work that has been constructed 'out of the most manifest evidence', which promises to reveal the 'least visible' but 'truest cause' of this war. In contrast, Thucydides is suspicious of the epistemological value of hearing, repeatedly denigrating the 'alluring' sounds of poetic and hearsay accounts of Greek history. In this paper, I argue that this critique extends also to other sounds in the *History*, and that Thucydides' anxieties over audition are directly related to the problematic relation he sees between sound, knowledge, and emotion. While visual perception provides the normative pathway to cognitive evaluation and rational emotional response, sounds have the capacity to short-circuit the evaluative process by circumventing cognition and eliciting unmediated affective responses in hearing subjects.

Keywords

1   Introduction

When asked how far a lie was from the truth, Thales of Miletus is reported to have responded 'as far as the eyes are from the ears'.[1] Like other Presocratic

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1   Stob. *Flor*. 111.12.14: Θάλης ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐρωτηθεὶς πόσον ἀπέχει τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦ ἀληθούς. "ὅσον" ἔφη "ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὤτων". All translations are my own.

philosophers, Thales was skeptical about the reliability of the senses generally.[2] But his remark is nevertheless indicative of what was, through much of antiquity, a widely accepted epistemological hierarchy of sensory perception. Vision, not hearing, was the sense most closely linked to ideas of knowledge and truth. As is frequently noted, in Greek the close connections between 'seeing' (εἶδον) and 'knowing' (οἶδα) were embedded into the structure of the language.[3] Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* is a text deeply committed to this conventional correlation between sight and knowledge. In the Methodology chapters (1.20-3), the historian grounds his investigative project in visual metaphor: it is a work that has been constructed 'out of the most manifest evidence' (ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων, 1.21.1), and it purports to expose to view the 'least visible' but 'truest cause' of this war (τὴν γὰρ μὲν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, 1.23.6). Moreover, the reward for whomever is willing to contemplate the written text of the *History* will be 'a clear view of the events that transpired' (ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν, 1.22.4), a view enabled by a text that claims to offer an unmediated portrait of 'the deeds themselves' (τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων, 1.22.2). With the Greek phrase τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν, Thucydides exploits a semantic overlap between visual and intellectual scrutiny: clarity of vision, in this rhetorical construction, equates to clarity of understanding.[4] The audience Thucydides prescribes for his work will be deeply engaged with the parallel processes of observation and critical judgement.[5]

In contrast to his promotion of visual modes of understanding, Thucydides repeatedly denigrates the epistemological value of hearing. People tend to believe 'hearsay accounts' about their own history (τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, 1.20.1), a mode of historical investigation Thucydides sets in stark opposition to the 'search for truth' his own text claims to undertake (ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, 1.20.3). Nor is the *History* a composition that has been adorned

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2   Cf. Heraclitus' observation that 'the eyes are more accurate witnesses than the ears' (ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὤτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες), reported at Pol. *Hist.* 12.27.1 (= 22B101a Diels & Kranz). See also Hdt. 1.8.1; Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.1, with Goldhill 1998; Arist. *Metaph.* 980a, *De An.* 429a. Surveys of the relevant ancient material include Segal 1995; Marincola 1997, 63-86; Cairns 2005; Squire 2016, 8-19.

3   See Kallet 2001, 21-3, with further bibliography.

4   The verb σκοπεῖν is programmatic for Thucydides' historiographical method, occurring in the work's opening chapter (1.1.3) and twice more in the methodological chapters (1.20.2, 1.22.4). See further Crane 1996, 236-47; Bakker 2006, 116-23; Edmunds 2009. On the idealized transparency of the narrative, see Connor 1985; Loraux 1986. For the "inscriptional inheritance" of Thuc.'s text, see Moles 1999. Quotations are taken from the text of Jones 1942.

5   Kallet 2001 argues that for Thucydides "*opsis* always involves interpretation" (22), for external reader as well as internal actor. Cf. ibid. 55-8. See further Moles 2001; Yunis 2003; Kallet 2006.

with the alluring sounds characteristic of 'poetic hymns' (ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι, 1.21.1), which represent, for Thucydides, the prioritization of listening pleasure over veracity (ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἢ ἀληθέστερον, ibid.). Hearing is further associated with feeling when Thucydides ironically suggests that his work's lack of mythological material might make it 'less enjoyable for listening to' (ἐς μὲν ἀκρόασιν ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον, 1.22.4). Such auditory pleasures are ideologically opposed to his own historiographical project, itself an object intended for continuous (re)examination rather than a one-time oral recital (κτῆμά τε ἐς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν, 1.22.4).[6] Audition thus emerges in the opening chapters as a mode of sensory perception that is, in the first place, antithetical to the discovery of truth, and secondly, closely tied to affective experience. While clear vision maintains a close link with knowledge and historical truth, audition is attached to the passionate impulses that characterize lack of critical judgement.[7]

In the Methodology, Thucydides' mistrust centers on a specific kind of alluring sound, poetic and hearsay accounts of Greek history. In this paper, I argue that this critique extends to other sounds in the *History* as well, and that Thucydides' anxieties over audition are directly related to the problematic relation he sees between sound, knowledge, and emotion. My contention is that Thucydides sets up visual perception as the normative pathway to cognitive evaluation and rational emotional response. Sounds, however, have the capacity to short-circuit the normative evaluative process by circumventing cognition and eliciting unmediated affective responses in hearing subjects. My examination is limited to a comparison between two sections of battle narrative: the skirmish on the island of Sphacteria in book four (4.31-8), and the battle at Epipolae in book seven (7.42-4). The two episodes share an important motif: both are scenes with profoundly impaired visibility for one or both parties involved. Epipolae is one of the few night battles in the *History*: visibility is problematic from the start.[8] And at Sphacteria, although the battle unfolds in broad daylight, the Spartan army has been all but blinded by a stifling cloud of dust and ash stirred up in the commotion of battle. With clear vision compromised, the characters in these scenes are left to rely more heavily on audition as their primary means of experiencing and interpreting their environments. I suggest that in these two narratives of problematic visibility, the dichotomy

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6 On the *History* as a text "ideologically opposed to the spoken word", see Greenwood 2006, 37.

7 The reason/passion antithesis has been examined by many readers of Thucydides. See, e.g., Orwin 1994; Ober 1998, 52-121; Foster 2010.

8 Two other fully developed night episodes occur in the *History*, both at Plataea (2.2-6 and 3.20-4). Minor night actions: 3.112; 4.103.5, 110.1, and 120.2; 7.80.

between visual and auditory perception established in the Methodology is reconstructed, put on display, and performed by the historical actors. In that way the narrative stages contrasting epistemological accounts of sensory perception, showing us how vision and audition interact in different ways with both cognition and emotion. What emerges from these passages is a disruptive potential of sound not only to directly affect characters' emotions, but also to overturn conventional structures of meaning and construct alternate sets of knowledge in their place. Both scenes, then, implicitly reconfirm sight as the normative evaluative mode in the *History* and the sense most closely associated with the text's foundational claims to dispassionate and objective truth. At the same time, they illustrate the causative, deeply impassioned, and potentially subversive role of sound and affect in historical events.

As Sean Gurd has recently shown, audition and emotion were closely connected in ancient Greek thought and literature, a relation he calls "auditory affect".[9] Gurd's phrase serves as a convenient catch-all for the spectrum of emotional forces at play in the passages he examines, and I employ it as a similarly generalizing term for the phenomena I discuss here. However, many scholars of affect theory distinguish between the two terms 'affect' and 'emotion' according to their relations with cognition: affect occurs as a generalized precognitive sensation, while emotion is the result of processes of reasoning and judgement.[10] Affect thus constitutes a category of feeling in the abstract, a response to a sensory experience that either has not or has not yet been filtered through cognitive processes. By distinguishing between affect and emotion, affect theorists thus foreground the question of cognition that is elided in Gurd's phrase. This dichotomy is a useful reference point from which to approach the scenes at Sphacteria and Epipolae. However, my analysis aims to demonstrate that the distinction between precognitive affect and postcognitive emotion in the *History* is not clean and straightforward but shifting and complex.[11]

While the affect/emotion divide in modern theory is a useful interpretive tool, I do not suggest that it maps directly onto Thucydides' text or that

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9   Gurd 2016, esp. 58-96.
10   See, e.g., Massumi 1995; Flatley 2008, 11-27; Gregg & Seigworth 2010, 1-29. For a recent
         treatment of the relation between emotion and the language we use to describe it, see
         Theodoropoulou 2012.
11   The affect/emotion distinction is occasionally useful for describing the contrast between
         visual and auditory perception I am suggesting in this paper. However, since it would be
         neither helpful nor, in my view, possible to adhere to the modern dichotomy at every step
         of my analysis, I employ it only when it is most heuristically useful, and on such occasions
         I am explicit about my use of the distinction and its value to my argument.

Thucydides himself conceived of emotional experience in precisely such terms. I do argue, however, that the relation between cognition and emotion is what is at stake in the text's contrasting demonstrations of visual and auditory perception, and that the scenes I examine here highlight the complexities of that relationship. To anticipate my argument: the scene at Sphacteria depicts Athenian sounds eliciting a visceral affective response (ἔκπληξις) from the Spartans that resists unambiguous identification and falls close to what Brian Massumi has called the "sheer intensity" of (precognitive) affect.[12] The Spartans are struck by the sounds in a way that knocks out their capacity for reflection altogether and leaves them in a dazed state between sense perception and rational understanding. In other words, sound at Sphacteria forecloses the possibility of cognitive judgement without desensitizing the Spartans to affective experience. The sounds assaulting the Athenians at Epipolae, on the other hand, do not preclude cognitive judgement altogether; rather, they pervert it by failing to separate it cleanly from emotion. Fear and confusion pervade the scene and appropriate the Athenians' capacity for rational evaluation, resulting in the construction of a set of beliefs that deeply distorts reality and, as I argue, replicates the corrupted epistemologies of the Corcyrean stasis and Athenian plague episodes. The problematic relationship established between acoustics, affect, and cognition at Sphacteria is thus pushed further still at Epipolae, where the three terms become indistinguishable, mutually causative, and mutually corrupting. For Thucydides, the absence of visual information and ubiquity of auditory sensation combine to produce an epistemological scenario which, like poetic and hearsay accounts of history, proves hostile to the discovery of truth.

2　Shouting, Shock, and 'Pure' Affect: Sphacteria

Gurd's study of auditory affect in archaic and classical Greek poetry illustrates that sound, for many of these authors, was conceived of as a medium capable of transmitting feeling across physical space. In his reading of the opening of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, for instance, he shows how the martial din of the Seven outside Thebes' walls reaches the population within, where it causes distress, civic unrest, and a reactionary swell of affectively charged sound in the form of lamentation.[13] Sounds cross the topography of the play's setting and work on the emotions of the characters who occupy its civic space.

12　Massumi 1995.
13　Gurd 2016, 62–89.

A similar understanding of acoustics as mobile and conducive to affect under-lies Thucydides' descriptions of auditory dynamics throughout the *History*.[14] This is particularly well illustrated in the Sphacteria episode, where sounds move through the physical landscape from multiple directions, both express-ing and eliciting affect. Moreover, Thucydides exploits the idea of mobile and transmissible emotion to structure the narrative in this passage, constructing and deconstructing the battle lines between the opposing armies according to the different ways they see, hear, and feel their environment.

The vividly depicted episode on the island of Sphacteria marks the culmi-nation of an extended narrative sequence that has tracked the political and military events surrounding the Athenian occupation of Pylos in 425 B.C. (4.2-41).[15] At this stage in the narrative, the Athenians have fortified the site of Pylos (4.4), fended off a Spartan attack (4.11-13), and cut off a force of some 420 Spartan hoplites on the island (4.14). After a chance fire burns away most of the vegetation on Sphacteria, the Athenian generals Demosthenes and Cleon opt to land an assault force on the island and confront the stranded Spartans (4.30). Having caught the Spartans off guard in the early morning (Thucydides tells us they were 'still in bed', 4.32.1), the Athenians divide into companies of about 200 men, seize various high points (τὰ μετεωρότατα, 4.32.3) on the island, and encircle their enemies in the valley below. The most vividly developed phase in the battle commences from there, filling the better part of four chapters of narrative (4.33-7) that Thucydides colors thoroughly with the sensory and affective experiences of the scene's participants.

After the initial surprise in the early morning, the main body of Spartan hoplites rallies and tries to confront the Athenian heavy infantry. The Athenians refuse to engage their own heavy troops, however, and rely instead on their more mobile light-armed troops (ψιλοί) to harass the Spartans with sallies from every side. As the battle drags on in this way, the Spartans become increasingly exhausted from the Athenian tactics, while the Athenians become increas-ingly confident (4.34.1):

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14   Cf., e.g., 4.112.1, where the sound of Spartan shouting outside the city of Torone sends ter-ror into the hearts of the citizens within the city walls. The scene strikingly resembles the auditory-affective dynamics in Aeschylus' *Seven*.

15   Literary and/or narratological analyses include: de Romilly 1963, 172-92; Hunter 1973, 61-84; Babut 1981 and 1986; Connor 1984, 108-18; Rood 1998, 24-57; Stahl 2003, 138-53; Allan 2013, 379-82. Wilson 1979 reconstructs the episode from a military historical perspective, following Pritchett 1965, 6-29; see also Pritchett 1994, 145-77.

γνόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἤδη ὄντας τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τε ὄψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον εἰληφότες πολλαπλάσιοι φαινόμενοι καὶ ξυνειθισμένοι μᾶλλον μηκέτι δεινοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως σφίσι φαίνεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ εὐθὺς ἄξια τῆς προσδοκίας ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ὥσπερ ὅτε πρῶτον ἀπέβαινον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὡς ἕκαστός τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν.

The light-armed troops, knowing [the Spartans] were now slower in their defense and seeing their own far superior numbers, took considerable courage at the sight; and because they had grown more accustomed to [the Spartans], they no longer seemed quite so terrifying, since [the Athenians] had not straightaway suffered what they had expected, given that when first they landed, they had been enslaved to the notion that they were up against Lacedaemonians; therefore, feeling contempt and shouting out in unison, they charged and hurled stones and arrows and spears—whatever each had at hand.

Their elevated positioning on the island provides the Athenians with a vantage point from which to observe their numerical superiority, which, in turn, boosts their confidence and makes their encircled Spartan enemies seem less fearsome.[16] Their clear view allows the Athenians a correspondingly clear understanding of their situation: they 'know' (γνόντες), and their knowledge provides them with an empirical basis for the confidence they consequently feel. Indeed, their clear vision is presented as liberating for Athenian γνώμη, which had previously been 'enslaved' to their anxieties over facing Spartan troops in a land battle (τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι). The verb γιγνώσκω is etymologically related to the term γνώμη, which in Thucydides' text frequently aligns with notions of reasoned judgement. The term is especially closely tied to the figure of Pericles, whom Thucydides presents as an idealized exemplar of clear-sighted rationalism.[17] However, the cognitive processes of γνώμη and γιγνώσκω are not divorced from emotional processes; rather, as this scene indicates, the two tend to be mutually entailing.[18] On the basis of their newly gained, visual understanding of their situation, the Athenians are freed from their fears and afforded the emotional support of both daring (θαρσεῖν) and

16   On viewing and vantage points in Thucydides, see Greenwood 2006, 19-41.
17   See Edmunds 1975, esp. 7-88; Huart 1973.
18   See Kallet 2001, 145-82; Wohl 2017.

contempt (καταφρονήσαντες) for their Spartan opponents. In other words, clarity of vision in the scene allows for a distinct cognitive link between Athenian sense perception and emotional response.[19] The Athenians see their position and their numbers, and they understand this visual information to signify their own tactical superiority in the battle. Their collective emotional response of courage and contempt is, thus, presented as thoroughly rational, grounded in visual perception, and a product of cognitive processes.[20] The equation of clear vision with the clear knowledge the Athenians enjoy aligns with the rhetorical and interpretive conceit Thucydides has constructed for his project in the Methodology chapter, where the text itself was presented as a visual object set out for contemplation (both visual and intellectual) by a rationally-minded audience. The Athenian soldiers perform just such a rational analysis as they gaze down upon the battlefield at Sphacteria and correctly interpret the significance of what they see. That is, they perform on the battlefield a process of visual understanding similar to what Thucydides has prescribed as normative for the evaluation of historical events.

However, Thucydides proceeds to set this portrayal of visual evaluation against the depiction of auditory affect that immediately follows, implicitly encouraging the reader to compare the two sections, and the two modes of understanding they represent, against one another. The confidence and contempt, which have been calculated using visual data, beget a vocal outburst from the Athenian army (ἐμβοήσαντες). The Athenians unleash a war cry as they charge the Spartan force and attack with whatever implements they have at hand. As Thucydides has already explained, the Athenian troops are stationed in several different elevated positions around the island. The war cry, however, is issued 'altogether' (ἀθρόοι), as a group effort which identifies the geographically scattered Athenians as a single collective entity. The Athenian collective is defined by the sound it produces—a sound which is presented as a vocal expression of Athenian feeling.

Affect theorist Sara Ahmed argues that emotions do not move between predetermined subjects and objects but themselves determine and delineate the boundaries between perceiving subjects and perceived objects.[21] What defines a collectivity, in her view, is the feeling its members share in relation to a common object of perception. The feelings shared by a group are in fact

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19   Both contempt and courage are defined elsewhere in the *History* as calculated emotions based on intelligent observation: see Pericles' third speech (2.62). On "rational courage" in Periclean rhetoric, see Balot 2014, 25-46.

20   Cf. Konstan 2006, 140f., outlining a similar process of visual evaluation in the naval battle between Corcyreans and Corinthians at 1.49.

21   Ahmed 2004. See further Ngai 2005, 1-37; Ahmed 2014, 1-19.

what make them a group. Different groups feel differently, even about the same object of perception, and those differences of feeling have the effect of creating "surfaces" around the collectively feeling subjects.[22] Ahmed's framework is a useful interpretive tool here because it allows us to see more clearly how the narrative defines the dividing line between opposing armies not only in political terms (Athenians vs. Spartans), tactical/military terms (light-armed vs. hoplite troops), and topographical terms (the high ground vs. the low), but also in sensory and affective terms. Indeed, during the climactic chapters of the Sphacteria episode, political, military, and topographical details fade from the narrative, which instead emphasizes the drastic and defining differences between what the two armies see, hear, and feel.

The Athenians occupy disparate spaces in the topography of the island, but they are united experientially by their common object of perception, the Spartan hoplite force, and their shared emotional response to it. The war cry manifests Athenian emotions in the form of an auditory object, disembodied and projected outward (note the directional prefix ἐν- attached to the verb of shouting, ἐμβοάω). When that object reaches its target, the Spartans react with further, but very different, emotion. The sound has a different meaning for the Spartans than it does for the Athenians. While it manifests a clearly formed sense of confidence and security for the Athenians, the shout causes a sense of poorly defined shock for its Spartan auditors that, in fact, resembles something like a physical blow. The distinctly different emotional value attached to the single shout creates the effect of a surface that emerges between Athenian and Spartan collective subjectivities. The shouted sound, imbued with 'good' Athenian feeling, collides with Spartan perception, where it simultaneously sounds and feels 'bad'. The distance separating Athenian and Spartan in the scene is, literally, spatial, but the narrative encourages us to conceptualize the divide on the battlefield in terms of the two sides' distinctly different subjective experiences of sensory input (4.34.2-3):

> γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ ἔκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης μάχης καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς τῆς ὕλης νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω, ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὑτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων ... εἶχόν τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὑτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἐσακούοντες ...

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22   Ahmed 2004, 117: "emotions ... create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds".

> With the shout coming at the same time as the charge, a shock befell [the Spartans], who were unaccustomed to this style of battle, and a large cloud of recently burned wood ash rose up, and it was impossible to see in front of oneself because of the arrows and stones from many attackers, along with the dust cloud … And because they were shut out from seeing before them, they had no resources at their disposal, unable to heed commands due the overpowering shout of their enemies …

The commotion of battle has kicked up a cloud of dust and ash that effectively blinds the Spartans positioned inside it; the Athenians can see them, but they themselves have 'no way to see' (ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν) and are 'shut out from looking forward' at the Athenians (ἀποκεκλῃμένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν).[23] In this visually compromised environment, the Spartans' sense of hearing becomes their primary means of contact with their assailants. The auditory object of the shout is shown to have traversed the physical topography of the setting, from the scattered, Athenian-occupied high ground to the Spartan formation below, where it encounters a new subjectivity with the force of a quasi-material impact. When the sound reaches its target, it is described not in the terms of cognition and judgement that were associated earlier with Athenian vision, but in terms of the feeling it elicits among its Spartan listeners. The war cry is not heard so much as it is strongly felt by the Spartans, who experience a jarring 'shock' (ἔκπληξις). Thucydides reserves the term ἔκπληξις for moments of the most profound affective impact, from shock and dismay to abject terror.[24] But the term also embodies a metaphor of physicality that envisions impact with a solid surface (from the verb ἐκ-πλήσσω, 'to knock out').[25] The Spartans are struck by the sound in a way that merges literal and figurative senses and depicts their experience as verging towards the synesthetic. Hearing nearly coincides with the haptic in this moment of high emotional intensity, and

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23   The visual dynamics of the scene recall the mist-enshrouded struggle over Patroclus' body in *Il.* 17. But unlike Thucydides, Homer does not exploit the visual obscurity in his scene to thematize auditory perception. Auditory affect does enter the stage after the mist has cleared, when Achilles lets out a terror-inducing cry of lament over Patroclus' death (18.217-8). My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for suggesting this comparandum.

24   Ἔκπληξις is tied to auditory phenomena three other times in the *History*: 4.112.1 (martial shouts); 6.70.1 (thunder); 7.70.6 (the din of naval battle in the Great Harbor at Syracuse). For a complete list, see Allison 1997, 62-5.

25   The physical metaphor is operative also at, e.g., 2.38.1, where Pericles describes the daily entertainments at Athens as capable of 'knocking out the painful' from Athenian life (καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει).

the distinction between physical and psychological feeling becomes blurred.[26] The sense of a subjective surface dividing Athenian from Spartan is concretized by the figurative physicality of sonic impact upon Spartan sensibility.

Reproducing the physical metaphor embedded in the Greek term, Virginia Hunter explains the phenomenon of ἔκπληξις as "a blow to the wits or a shock" that signals the wholesale loss of deliberative and cognitive ability.[27] Notably in this passage, and throughout the climactic chapters of the Sphacteria battle episode, Thucydides withholds vocabulary of cognition to describe the Spartans.[28] The cognitive relationship with sound for the Spartans in the scene thus contrasts sharply with the model of visual evaluation attributed to the Athenians. Where the Athenians' clear vision had earlier allowed them to 'know' (γνόντες, 4.34.1) the reality of their situation, and to form their emotions accordingly, the blinded Spartans are denied the possibility of such knowledge. Instead, their reception of the Athenian cry is unmediated by any explicitly identified cognitive processes. By cutting out the cognitive link between sense perception and affective response, the war cry disables rationally informed emotional response. In Massumi's terms, the absence of cognition has disabled proper emotion altogether and situated the Spartan experience in the realm of 'pure', unmediated affect, a state of suspended animation in which Spartan hearing and feeling coincide. For the Spartans, then, audition is not a dispassionate evaluating sense, but is rather a sense dominated by feeling. The war cry has the effect of short-circuiting the normative process Thucydides imagines for vision: viz. sense perception → cognition → emotion. The sensation of ἔκπληξις captures and names a moment of affective response that escapes cognitive processes of judgement. In other words, the Spartans' experience of reality is heard and felt rather than seen and (rationally) understood.

However disruptive the sound of the Athenian shouting has been to the Spartans' psychology, it seems to cause only minimal direct harm to the hoplites. The war cry interferes with their chain of command, impairing the soldiers' ability to give and receive orders shouted to one another (παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἐσακούοντες, 4.34.3), but they nevertheless maintain sufficient order and discipline to retreat with most of their force to a stronghold at the northern end of

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26   For many natural scientists and philosophers of the late archaic and classical periods, audition was conceived as a haptic encounter. See Gurd 2016, 90-6; Beare 1906, 93-130.

27   Quote from Hunter 1986, 418. See further Konstan 2006, 152: ἔκπληξις results "less from deliberation than a kind of shock … which drives out reflection and either causes an instinctive impulse to flee or leaves one dazed". Cf. Huart 1968, 77.

28   Spartan thought processes are only mentioned twice in the battle portion of the episode, once before the battle has commenced (οἰομένων, 4.32.1) and once after it has ended (τῇ γνώμῃ, 4.37.1).

the island, where they are eventually compelled to surrender.[29] So while the scene at Sphacteria demonstrates that sounds can cause affective processes to replace proper evaluation, it stops short of exploring the potential dangers of that cognitive disruption. The Epipolae narrative, as well as the commas offsetting it, explores those dangers thoroughly, depicting a scene in which sounds not only transmit disruptive emotion but also create destructive misunderstandings of reality.

3   Subversive Epistemologies of Sound: Epipolae

In his narrative of the Epipolae night battle in book seven, Thucydides again employs a thematic opposition between visual and auditory evaluation. The scene at Epipolae develops the theme further by emphasizing the harmful potential of knowledge constructed primarily through audition and emotion. Sounds in the Epipolae episode mislead the Athenians into a series of misconceptions that, in the end, drive soldiers and citizens to physical violence against one another. Like the Spartans at Sphacteria, the Athenians at Epipolae are deprived of clear vision and therefore compelled to interpret their surroundings through what they can hear. Also like at Sphacteria, audition proves more conducive to generating feeling than clear understanding. In contrast to the Sphacteria passage, however, the emotions at Epipolae are depicted as capable of contributing to the formation of knowledge. The sounds in the scene do not disable cognition, but rather enable confusion and fear to take its place and construct beliefs about reality that are, on the one hand, detailed and concrete but, on the other hand, thoroughly distorted versions of the truth. In the darkness and cacophony of the setting, friends and fellow citizens become enemies, and enemies become indistinguishable from allies. Whereas sound eliminated cognition altogether at Sphacteria, it has the effect of corrupting both cognition and knowledge for the Athenians at Epipolae. Furthermore, as Athenian self-knowledge and identity are destabilized, so are the subjective 'surfaces' that so neatly divided the battle lines at Sphacteria. In the Epipolae narrative, the most detailed description of auditory dynamics in Thucydides' work, sound emerges as a volatile and impassioned sensory mode of understanding.

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29   The din of naval battle at Syracuse also disrupts soldiers' ability to hear commands (7.70.6).

   The episode depicts the sort of unexpected reversal of fortune that is characteristic of Thucydides' narrative presentation of the Sicilian campaign.[30] Although the Athenians are at first successful in capitalizing on the surprise of a night assault, they are ultimately defeated and put to panicked flight. The reversal occurs when their initial advance is halted by a company of Boeotians fighting on the Syracusan side (7.43.7). The subsequent Athenian flight from the Epipolae plateau is characterized by a combination of confusion and fear, each spread and channeled through the darkness by a series of harmful sounds that assault the Athenians. Sounds of three distinct characters emerge consecutively in the scene: (1) nonverbal shouting (βοή, κραυγή); (2) the verbal 'watch word' of the Athenians (τὸ ξύνθημα); and (3) the musical sound of the Dorian paean. Thucydides presents the three acoustic phenomena in a broad tricolon crescendo that tracks their increasing emotional impact on their Athenian auditors. However, before describing the acoustics of the scene, Thucydides reemphasizes the epistemological primacy of vision (7.44.1-2):

> ... οὐδὲ πυθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν οὐδ' ἀφ' ἑτέρων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστα ξυνηνέχθη. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ σαφέστερα μέν, ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ παραγενόμενοι πάντα πλὴν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος μόλις οἶδεν· ἐν δὲ νυκτομαχίᾳ ... πῶς ἄν τις σαφῶς τι ᾔδει; ἦν μὲν γὰρ σελήνη λαμπρά, ἑώρων δὲ οὕτως ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σελήνῃ εἰκὸς τὴν μὲν ὄψιν τοῦ σώματος προορᾶν, τὴν δὲ γνῶσιν τοῦ οἰκείου ἀπιστεῖσθαι.

> ... Nor was it easy to learn—not from either side—how everything happened. For, though in the daytime things are clearer, still, even those present scarcely know everything (that happens) beyond their own immediate vicinity. But in a night battle ... how would anyone know anything clearly? For the moon was bright, but they saw each other as is to be expected in moonlight: they could make out the appearance of a body but distrusted its recognition as a friend.

Thucydides starts by drawing attention to the difficulties of the historian's task, a problem he has already flagged earlier in the *History*.[31] But this familiar theme is here reformulated in specifically visual terms: clarity of sight is directly equated with historical knowledge. In this case, the lack of the one directly compromises the other. The obscure visibility at Epipolae thus compounds the already difficult work of excavating historical fact from eyewitness

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30   See, e.g., Avery 1973; Kirby 1983; Rood 1998, 198-201; Kallet 2001, 160-73.

31   1.20.1. See Rood 2006; Kallet 2006, 339-44.

accounts.[32] In this way the passage reconfirms the epistemological hierarchy established in the Methodology chapters and performed by the historical agents in the Sphacteria narrative episode.

In the passage's final sentence, Thucydides reemphasizes the dependent relationship between sight and knowledge by pointing out that although the moon shone brightly, its light was inadequate to allow for any clarity of discernment. The μέν/δέ syntactical structure of the sentence positions sight (τὴν μὲν ὄψιν) in an oppositional—rather than equivalent—relationship with judgement (τὴν δὲ γνῶσιν). In the darkness at Epipolae, vision (τὴν ὄψιν) has been compromised to the point that it is no longer sufficient to enable rational judgement (τὴν γνῶσιν). In contrast to the clear-seeing Athenians at Sphacteria, vision for the Athenian characters at Epipolae fails to provide an unobstructed conduit for the rational knowledge that, both in this passage and in the earlier episode, has been associated with the language of γνώμη. The Athenians' ignorance in the darkness, moreover, disconnects them specifically from knowledge of what is most familiar, τὸ οἰκεῖον, 'their own'. The term invokes the familiarity of household and kinship relations, those ties that are closest—both emotionally and physically—to oneself and one's identity within a broader community. The darkness of the scene has alienated the Athenians from such identifying bonds, a self-alienation they come to embody as the scene plays out and they struggle to distinguish 'their own' from their enemies. In Ahmed's terms, the surfaces defining Athenian subjectivity have been broken down by the scene's pervasive panic, which identifies anything and everything as an object of fear.[33] Instead of defining Athenian against non-Athenian, subjective surfaces emerge that cut through and divide the Athenian collective from itself. Their estrangement from the close and familiar recalls one of Thucydides' criticisms of hearsay reports in the Methodology: people have a tendency to accept as truth the incorrect accounts they hear (τὰς ἀκοὰς), even when the events recounted concern 'their own native country' (ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν, 1.20.1). Auditory information in each case impinges upon hearers' most intimate epistemological relationships, at both local (οἰκεῖον) and regional (ἐπιχώρια) levels of familiarity.

The emphasis on visually accessed information, with which Thucydides introduces this scene at Epipolae, then provides the thematic backdrop for the rest of the chapter, which is constructed around the problem of firm knowledge in a setting of compromised visibility. After establishing vision as the

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32   Biffis 2008.

33   Cf. Borgeaud 1988, 88f.: "a panic is always an irrational terror involving noise and confused disturbance that unexpectedly overtakes a military encampment, usually at night … any noise is immediately taken as the enemy in full attack".

principal means of evaluating and acquiring knowledge, the passage moves into a vivid and lengthy depiction of the auditory dynamics of the scene. Thus, the narrative replicates the thematic opposition between visual and auditory perception that also structured the Sphacteria narrative. Also like the earlier scene, the soundscape at Epipolae includes martial shouting, which is the first sound encountered by the Athenians (7.44.3-4):

> καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἐνικῶντο, οἱ δ' ἔτι τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ ἀήσσητοι ἐχώρουν … ἤδη γὰρ τὰ πρόσθεν τῆς τροπῆς γεγενημένης ἐτετάρακτο πάντα καὶ χαλεπὰ ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς διαγνῶναι. οἵ τε γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ὡς κρατοῦντες παρεκελεύοντό τε κραυγῇ οὐκ ὀλίγῃ χρώμενοι …

> And some of the Athenians were already being defeated, while others were still advancing unbeaten in the first rush … For now that the rout had occurred in the front lines, everything was confused, and because of the shouting, it was difficult to discern. The Syracusans and their allies, thinking they were winning, were exhorting with loud cries …

Like the Athenian war cry at Sphacteria, the shouts in this scene are experienced differently by the different parties to the action. For the Syracusans and their allies, the shouts are employed and received as encouragement (παρεκελεύοντο). The sounds project the positive feelings resulting from the Syracusans' impression that they are winning the battle (ὡς κρατοῦντες), an impression the narrative confirms as objective fact. For the Athenians, the same sound conveys different feeling and, ultimately, different meaning. Rather than helping them understand their surroundings, it confounds their cognitive ability and adds to their general sense of disarray. At Sphacteria the Athenians had recourse to visual observation, and from it they gained rational knowledge (γνόντες, 4.34.1). In the darkness at Epipolae, however, their capacity for such cognitive discrimination, embedded in the verb διαγνῶναι (from διαγιγνώσκω), is explicitly denied: χαλεπὰ ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς διαγνῶναι. The result is a pervasive logistical confusion among the soldiers on the ground that enacts their mental confusion. Imagery of chaos serves as the leitmotif throughout the scene; the terminology of disarray, including ταράσσω (ἐτετάρακτο in the above passage), ταραχή, and θόρυβος, occurs repeatedly to capture both dimensions of the Athenians' pervasive disarray, the organizational and the psychological.[34]

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34   The noun ταραχή occurs at 7.44.1, the verb ταράσσω at 7.44.3, 44.7. The two terms regularly accompany defeat in Thucydidean battle narratives (e.g. 2.84, 4.25.11, 4.96.3, 7.23.3, 7.84.4). Note that Athenian disorder had already begun in the previous chapter (ἀταξία, 7.43.7).

So far, then, the narrative structure of the episode is familiar: Thucydides has set up a comparison between visual and auditory perception that underscores the two senses' differing relationships with cognition. As the narrative proceeds, however, Thucydides pushes the theme further and suggests that, in the absence of clear visibility, the combination of sound and affect carries the potential not only to obscure reality but to construct new and disconcerting truths for the Athenian actors in the scene. Two new sounds, the verbal watchword and the martial paean, engage the Athenians' senses in the height of the battle. Unlike the inarticulate shouting we have so far encountered in both episodes, these are sounds with embedded cultural significance. In the darkness and chaos of the scene, however, these sounds are dislodged from the culture and conventions that normally give them meaning. Instead of facilitating their intended feelings of confidence, security, and courage, the watch-word and paean instead further unsettle the Athenians. While it is the lack of good visibility that provides the setting conducive to this epistemological slippage, it is the constant presence of sound in the scene that provides the means for the perversion of linguistic and religious function that ensues.

The Athenian watch-word (τὸ ξύνθημα) is a pre-arranged linguistic device whose sole reason for being is to verbally identify friend from enemy, and to generate confidence in that identification.[35] In this scene, however, the watch-word fails altogether to define identities and, instead, only destabilizes them (7.44.4):

> οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐζήτουν τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐξ ἐναντίας, καὶ εἰ φίλιον εἴη τῶν ἤδη πάλιν φευγόντων, πολέμιον ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτήμασι τοῦ ξυνθήματος πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλῳ τῳ γνωρίσαι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς θόρυβον πολὺν παρεῖχον ἅμα πάντες ἐρωτῶντες καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις σαφὲς αὐτὸ κατέστησαν· τὸ δ' ἐκείνων οὐχ ὁμοίως ἠπίσταντο ... ὥστ' εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιέν τισι κρείσσους ὄντες τῶν πολεμίων, διέφευγον αὐτοὺς ἅτε ἐκείνων ἐπιστάμενοι τὸ ξύνθημα, εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀποκρίνοιντο, διεφθείροντο.

> And the Athenians sought after their own and everything before them, and if he were a friend, from among those now in flight, they took him for an enemy; and by repeatedly requesting the watch-word (since there was no other means of recognition), with everyone asking at once, they were causing themselves significant confusion, and they revealed the watch-word to their enemies. But they did not know their enemies'

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35   Ξύνθημα occurs five times in the text, and only here does it refer to a verbal signal. Compare 4.112.1, 4.67.4, 6.61.2, 7.22.1.

> watch-word ... so that if they encountered any inferior enemy force, (the
> enemies) escaped, since they knew the watch-word, whereas if they
> themselves failed to respond, they were killed.

Rather than providing clarity, the watch-word generates further disorienta-
tion (θόρυβον πολύν), compounding the psychological and logistical disarray
already permeating the Athenian ranks.[36] The watch-word becomes an impos-
sible lose-lose game for the Athenians and a symbol of the knowledge disparity
in the scene. The Syracusans know the Athenian watch-word as well as their
own, and they are able to employ their knowledge of both for strategic gain.
The Athenians know only their own watch-word, but even with this informa-
tion they cannot construct an accurate understanding of their reality. Instead
of serving as a means for maintaining military cohesion, the watch-word
becomes an agent of disruption in the Athenian battle lines, recalling the
effects of the war cry at Sphacteria on the Spartan chain of command.

   Furthermore, Thucydides again deploys the language of cognition in this
passage, citing the watch-word as the Athenians' only means of 'attaining knowl-
edge' (γνωρίσαι). However, he invokes the notion of γνώμη-based knowledge
only to underscore its inaccessibility to the Athenians in this sensory environ-
ment of diminished visibility and overwhelming sound. Auditory information
not only fails to provide the Athenians with an accurate understanding of their
surroundings, but it constructs an alternative set of knowledge that subverts
reality: as the Athenians lose contact with 'their very selves' (ἐζήτουν τε σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς) in the darkness, the sounds they hear lead them to believe (ἐνόμιζον)
that their allies are actually their enemies (εἰ φίλιον εἴη τῶν ἤδη πάλιν φευγόντων,
πολέμιον ἐνόμιζον).[37] The nighttime setting of the battle has created a gap in
the (idealized) seamless relation between seeing and knowing. This gap opens
a space for the disruptive intrusion of sound and affect. The Methodology
already anticipated this complication with its critique of the popular desire to
hear the pleasing music of poetry (1.21.1), the attractive rhetorical stylings of
logographers (ibid.), and the charming stories of myth (1.22.4)—all modes
of knowing about history that potentially endanger the visual ideal of truth
because they introduce the destabilizing and, for Thucydides, nonrational
forces of sound and emotion. In the darkness at Epipolae, the epistemological

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36   The term θόρυβος signifies a specifically auditory brand of disorder: see Gurd 2016, 87;
      Wallace 2004. It becomes especially attached to the Athenians throughout book seven
      (7.3.1, 22.1, 40.3, 44.4, 81.4).

37   The stylistic construction of the passage further performs the identity confusion playing
      out in the scene, as Athenian and Syracusan grammatical subjects become increasingly
      difficult to distinguish from one another.

gap between seeing and knowing, for the Athenians, is similarly occupied by the distorting influence of auditory affect. Their failed 'searching' (ἐζήτουν) for truth in the dark thus makes a striking contrast with the central claim of the text, which purports to be a 'search for the truth' set out for visual and intellectual inspection (ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, 1.20.3). Like the undisciplined student of history whose reliance on hearsay causes alienation from knowledge of his/her own country (ἐπιχώρια, 1.20.1), the Athenians at Epipolae, already cut off from the familiar (τὸ οἰκεῖον), come to embody the impossibility of self-knowledge without visual clarity.

The spatial and psychological displacement the Athenians suffer takes on a religious dimension with the introduction of the final and most devastating auditory event, the Dorian paean (7.44.6):

> μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιανισμός· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων παραπλήσιος ὢν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχεν. οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ ὅσον Δωρικὸν μετ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἦν, ὁπότε παιανίσειαν, φόβον παρεῖχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἵ τε πολέμιοι ὁμοίως. ὥστε τέλος ξυμπεσόντες αὑτοῖς κατὰ πολλὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ ἐταράχθησαν, φίλοι τε φίλοις καὶ πολῖται πολίταις, οὐ μόνον ἐς φόβον κατέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες μόλις ἀπελύοντο.

> But the greatest and most harmful was the paean. Since it was similar on both sides, it caused perplexity. Both the Argives and the Corcyreans, and whatever Dorian peoples were with the Athenians, whenever they raised the paean, it would strike fear into the Athenians, just as when their enemies would [raise it]. The end result was that, having fallen together throughout the army—friends with friends and citizens with citizens— when once confusion took hold, not only did fear set in, but also those who had come to blows could scarcely disengage themselves.

The Ionian Athenians are in battle against Dorian Syracusans, but as Thucydides notes, the Athenians have Dorian Corcyreans and Argives fighting as allies on their side as well. Consequently, when the Dorian peoples of both sides in the conflict sing out a similar martial paean, it produces uncertainty (ἀπορίαν) in the Athenians as to who is a friend and who an enemy. In this way, the paean, which resounds clearly through the visual obscurity of the night, paradoxically inflicts further blindness on the Athenians. It effectively eliminates the distinctions between friend and enemy, a perceptual blurring that is materialized in the overlapping of physical bodies, as allied soldiers and citizens become entangled and inseparable from one another. Not only does fear take hold of

them, but they take violent hold of one another and, now, can neither be differentiated visually nor separated physically (καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες μόλις ἀπελύοντο). Like the watch-word, then, the paean fails to clarify Athenian understanding of the scene and compounds their already confused experience with further uncertainty, disarray, and fear (ἀπορίαν, ἐταράχθησαν, φόβον). Also like the watch-word, the paean facilitates the construction of an alternate and perverse reality in which friends and fellow-citizens have become objects of fear and targets for violence.

The scene of linguistic and religious breakdown at Epipolae resonates with two episodes from earlier in the text, the Athenian plague in book two and the Corcyrean *stasis* in book three. Both earlier episodes in the *History* are paradigmatic of the breakdown of cultural practices that regularly occurs in time of war, and both are re-inscribed onto the scene at Epipolae.[38] Thucydides employs resonances at the level of rhetoric and imagery, which serve to signpost deeper thematic links with the two earlier episodes. At Corcyra, for example, familial relationships break down to the point that 'fathers were killing sons' (πατὴρ παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε, 3.81.5), a phrase echoed in the polyptoton of 'friends coming to blows with friends, and citizens with citizens' in the Epipolae passage above (φίλοι τε φίλοις καὶ πολῖται πολίταις ... ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις ἐλθόντες, 7.44.6).[39] A second verbal echo connects the paean itself to Thucydides' description of the plague.[40] Although the plague narrative is developed fully in book two of the *History*, it is first announced as a significant event in the Methodology section of book one. Like the paean, the plague is a devastating event that was 'not the least harmful':

ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος.

That most harmful and broadly destructive pestilence, the plague. (1.23.3)

μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιανισμός.

The greatest and most harmful was the paean. (7.44.6)

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38 On the thematic resonances between the plague and *stasis* narratives, see Cochrane 1929, 133-7; Connor 1984, 99-105; Swain 1993.

39 Cf. the 'friendly fire' incidents at Delion (4.96.3).

40 Plagues and paeans were closely associated in ancient Greek literature and medical thought. See Webster (2019, 113): paeans were deployed as "sonic cures" for the public, "in the face of plagues and other moments of collective crisis". Literary examples include: *Il.* 1.4.73f.; Soph. *OT* 4f.

The latter phrase employs the same verb (βλάπτω) as the former, with the same emphatic litotes (οὐχ ἥκιστα), and both phrases postpone the nominative subject for dramatic impact. In the earlier passage, we expect something that is typically harmful, like plague, to follow the extended description of devastation that precedes the phrase ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. But the latter passage, which explicitly recalls this rhetoric of devastation, is calculated to shock with the appearance of ὁ παιανισμός at sentence end. The delayed placement of ὁ παιανισμός thus enforces on the reader, for a moment, the disorientation playing out within the scene, as we grapple with the paradox of a paeanic appeal to the god of healing that has been recast as a direct catalyst of 'the greatest and not least harm'.

These verbal echoes, then, flag the important thematic resonance between these episodes. At the height of their civil strife, Corcyrean citizens turn on one another, 'slaughtering those of their own who appear to be enemies' (3.81.4), an inversion of civic relationships that reappears among the Athenian soldier-citizens at Epipolae. Further cultural disruption occurs at Corcyra when, famously, the relationships between words and customary meanings become dislodged, a phenomenon reflected in the failure of the Athenian watch-word at Epipolae.[41] Both the plague and *stasis* episodes further portray the widespread upending of religious practices, as the sacred spaces of the two cities are filled with sacrilegious death.[42] The paean at Epipolae is a religious ritual whose function becomes similarly destabilized. Embedded in the ritual of the martial paean is the idea of divine protection, the knowledge of which dispels the fear of bodily harm in combat and inspires feelings of safety and confidence.[43] The paean at Epipolae, however, fails on both accounts: it cultivates fear (φόβον) and causes harm (ἔβλαψε) to the Athenians. They hear only that it is sung by their traditional ethnic rivals the Dorians, and because they are denied the capacity for reasoned reflection in their blinded state, the knowledge of their having brought Dorian allies with them into this battle is replaced by a fear that has remade everyone, friend or foe, into a potential enemy.[44]

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41   3.82.4: καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει ('they also exchanged at will the customary meaning of words with respect to deeds'). See Loraux 2009, with further references.

42   See 2.52; 3.81.2-5; 3.82.8.

43   See Pritchett 1974, 105-8; Käppel 1992, 45f. For the Greek paean more generally, see Rutherford 1993, 1994, 2001; Schröder 1999. On their medicinal and public health uses, Perrot 2016, Webster 2019.

44   The ironic link between paeans and fear is not unprecedented in Greek literature. At Aesch. *Pers.* 391f., the Greeks at Salamis sing out a paean that spreads fear (φόβος) and uncertainty through the Persian host (see Gurd 2016, 65-7).

Sound becomes a stand-in for fear, since every sound, to the Athenians, now signifies the threat of harm. The linguistic and musical sounds of the scene have thus enabled a series of affective responses to supplant reasoned judgement and introduce an appraisal of reality grounded in panic and fear.

The passions play a similarly destructive role in the plague and *stasis* episodes, where they threaten to undermine the capacity for rational thought altogether: the plague, for instance, is described as a force 'greater than *logos*' (κρεῖσσον λόγου, 2.50.1). It defies not only language but logical analysis itself.[45] Similarly, as Nicole Loraux has argued, stasis can be read as the violent clash between the blind passion of ὀργή and the judging faculty of γνώμη.[46] Thus, in both episodes the overthrow of cultural norms is facilitated by the incursion and domination of the passions into human processes of judgement. A potent combination of fear and desire recalibrates the characters' interpretations of their world by redrawing the bounds of moral behavior. In other words, these historical episodes are exemplary in the text for what they reveal about the power of emotions to (re)construct methods of evaluation and structures of meaning.

The Athenians at Epipolae, like the characters in both these earlier episodes, find themselves in a situation of high psychological stress and mortal danger. Deprived of clear vision, they are deprived also of the ability to make rational sense of their world. When auditory perceptions become their primary means of experiencing their environment, emotions move in to take the place of cognitive judgement. Like in the plague and *stasis* episodes, however, passions construct a version of reality for the Athenians that is deeply perverse, in which both linguistic and religious modes of understanding are disrupted. The auditory invocations of the watch-word and the paean, each in its own way intended to procure safety and cultivate confidence, instead become the scene's primary conduits for fear, and this spreading fear, in turn, recalibrates and distorts the characters' understanding of their reality.

4 Conclusion

Within a paradigm of sensory perception in which, as Thales put it, vision is as closely linked with truth as audition is with untruth, blindness and darkness make for a convenient and fitting metaphor for ignorance. And indeed, the blinded characters at both Sphacteria and Epipolae, as we have seen, struggle

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45 Connor 1984, 100f. See further Edmunds 1975, 7-88 on *logos* as rational calculation.
46 Loraux 2009, 263.

to ascertain rational knowledge about their worlds. I have suggested here, however, that Thucydides' text introduces a third dimension, affect, to the sense perception-knowledge relation expressed in the Thales anecdote. In my analysis of these two vividly depicted soundscapes, I have attempted to show the contrasting ways in which the two most prevalent sensory modes on display in the *History*, seeing and hearing, interact with the dynamic forces of human emotion. I have argued that Thucydides envisions a close link between hearing and feeling that has profound implications at several levels of his text, from the author's own discourse on the challenges of historiography to the working-out of historical events on the battlefield. The epistemological complications instigated by the incursion of sound at Sphacteria and Epipolae refract Thucydidean historiographical concerns by staging them in the historical narrative itself. In other words, Thucydides grounds the epistemological problems of auditory perception in the self-proclaimed truth of the text—in the 'deeds themselves' of history. In so doing, he renders them visible to the reader of the written work, which is itself figured as a clear window looking directly onto the unobstructed *erga* of the war. From our vantage point outside the text, then, we are allowed to see and to scrutinize for ourselves the sounds of Thucydides' war and the complexly emotional and causative force they exert on the agents and events of history.

Acknowledgements

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BRILL

Martem Accendere Cantu: The Meaning of Music on the Battlefield

(*on Phld.* Mus. *4.LXVIII.33-40, LXIX.7-12 Delattre* = P.Herc. *1578/17* N, *1575/18* N)

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Abstract

This paper examines in detail an under-appreciated passage from Philodemus of Gadara's *On Music* in order to elucidate several important controversies in Hellenistic musical philosophy. The Stoic Diogenes of Babylon claimed that the emotional impact of trumpet tunes can inspire soldiers to fight. But the Epicurean Philodemus believed that the meaningful words (λόγοι) which stimulate our actions are utterly distinct from meaningless musical sound (μουσική). Philodemus therefore framed an alternative theory in which trumpet calls on the battlefield function not as music but as a kind of makeshift language, using conventional signifiers to communicate instructions. I show how both philosophers' views arise logically out of doctrines from their respective schools. I then argue that the trumpet's dual status as both performance instrument and communications device makes it a natural philosophical flashpoint: it raises central questions about what music is, how it affects listeners, and whether it can convey meaning.

Keywords

ἦθος theory – Epicureanism – Stoicism – ear and mind – music semiotics – musical psychology

1   Music at War: What Is It Good For?

> *There is a story which goes like this: in the middle of a battle there is a com-*
> *pany of Italian soldiers in the trenches, and an Italian commander who*
> *issues the command, 'Soldiers, attack!' He cries out in a loud and clear voice*
> *to make himself heard in the midst of the tumult, but nothing happens,*
> *nobody moves. So the commander gets angry and shouts louder: 'Soldiers,*
> *attack!' Still nobody moves. And since in jokes things have to happen three*
> *times for something to stir, he yells even louder: 'Soldiers, attack!' At which*
> *point there is a response, a tiny voice rising from the trenches, saying appre-*
> *ciatively* 'Che bella voce!' *'What a beautiful voice!'*
>
> MLADEN DOLAR, *A Voice and Nothing More*, p. 3

A war zone is no place for musical displays, and yet there they are. Or at
least, there they were on the ancient battlefield: pipes, trumpets, dances, all
sharing space with and even participating in the unforgiving melee. The phe-
nomenon is so ubiquitous in our sources that we can become desensitised to
the sheer incongruity of the thing. But there is surely a mismatch between,
say, the αὐλός—whose sound was perhaps best appreciated at leisure after a
full κύλιξ or two—and the scenes of carnage which αὐλός-music sometimes
accompanied.

One question which therefore arises is whether hearing music on the
battlefield was in any way the same kind of experience as hearing it at a sym-
posium, or for that matter on a concert stage. Different authors will give you
different answers. Thucydides writes that the Spartans used pipe-playing for
purely functional purposes, to keep their soldiers stepping in time.[1] But Aulus
Gellius thought that more than just ambulatory discipline was at stake. In
Attic Nights, morale is said to benefit from the same Spartan αὐλός described
by Thucydides: pipe music steadies the hearts of the fighters who hear it so
they can make an orderly charge.[2] In Thucydides, the music's purpose is to
disseminate information about when to step, and the fact that it may in other
contexts be used to excite emotion or generate aesthetic pleasure is pretty
much irrelevant. For Gellius, though, the music which the Spartans play on the
march is fundamentally the same emotionally and psychologically affecting
art form that Pythagoras (or Damon, or whoever) was supposed to have used

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1   Thuc. 5.70.
2   Gel. 1.11.1-4.

to calm the rambunctious energy of drunken youths.[3] This seems like a significant disagreement: it is not entirely clear how, in the end, we are to regard the instruments of war. Are they mere technological conveniences, or sources of genuine musical expression?

There is a passage in Philodemus which speaks to this question. It has not yet received the attention it deserves for what it can tell us about the nature of music in Greek thought. Undoubtedly this is in part because the prospect of fighting one's way through Philodemus' charred and mangled prose—which would be somewhat tortured even if it were pristinely preserved—has all the appeal of a root canal for many scholars. I therefore hope that, before I turn to the relevant passage, readers will forgive a brief reminder about who and what is under discussion here.

The doctrinaire Epicurean Philodemus wrote in Greek about the Hellenic philosophical tradition, but often for the benefit of Rome's luminaries in the first century BC.[4] In each treatise he constructs a kind of intellectual history of his topic by quoting liberally those who have addressed it before him, excoriating them for their errors, and articulating his opposing views.[5] This is why the fourth and only extant book of *On Music* finds him attacking the musical philosophy of Diogenes of Babylon, the Stoic scholar who participated in the philosophical embassy to Rome in 155.[6] Philodemus cites Diogenes with withering disapproval, thus preserving fragments from the Stoic's corpus that would otherwise be lost. This is an irony to which Philodemus is prone.

2   The Claim: Philodemus *contra* Diogenes on Trumpets

The section of Philodemus' aesthetic writings I want to examine is *On Music* 4.LXVIII.33-40, LXIX.7-12 Delattre:

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3 See further Matelli 2004, esp. 16of. on this anecdote and its various protagonists at e.g. Iamb. *VP* 25.112-5; Sext. Emp. *M.* 6.7.1-9.1; Cic. *Consil.* fr. 3 (= *Opera* iv.3, p. 339 Müller); Plut. *De Isid.* 384a2-5; Ath. *Deip.* 623f-4b; [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1146b-c; Gal. *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 5.6.21-2 (= Damon B7 Wallace); Mart. Cap. 9.926 (= Damon B8 Wallace).

4 On the literary and philosophical communities which passed through L. Calpurnius Piso's villa at Herculaneum see Gigante/Capasso 1989, 3-6; Asmis 1992, 206, 227-30; Armstrong 2004, 2f.; Gigante 2004, 85-7.

5 For a trenchant account of this 'hypomnematic' technique see Delattre 2007, XXVI-XXX.

6 On whose work and general philosophical commitments as they relate to music see Obbink/ Vander Waerdt 1991, 355-9; Janko 1992, 123-30; see also below, 6-12.

οὐδ' αὐτὴ μὲν τ[ῶι
κακ]ῶι θυμὸν ἐγείρει· μάτ[αι-
ον] γὰρ ἂν τὸν τῶν σαλ[πίγγων
ἦχο]ν ἔχειν· νῦν δ' ἐλάφ[ων γε
ὁπ]λῖται τινὲς δειλότερο[ι, ση-
μη]γάντων ἂν τῶν α[ὐλῶν, ὁ-
ρῶ]ντ[αι], νῦν δ' ἔνιοι στάν[τες
ἀτρεμ]εῖ καὶ πανταχοῦ [....
(...)
      τισὶ δὲ καὶ τῶι συμπλέκε-
σ]θαι ταῖς μάχαις τὴν τοιαύ-
τ]ην φωνὴν καὶ παρακλη-
τι]κὸν παρέχειν σημεῖον ἐξ
ὑπολήψεως ἐγείρεται παρά-
σ]τημα πρὸ[ς τοὺ]ς κινδύνους.

LXVIII.35-6 σαλ[πίγγων| ἦχο]ν ἔχειν Janko : σαλ[πίγγω]|ν ἔχειν Kemke :
σαλ[πικτῶ]|ν ἔχειν Gomperz : σαλ[ακ]ώ|[νω]ν ἔχειν Delattre : σαλ[ευόντων
ἀ]νέχειν Angeli.[7]

It [sc. musical sound, ἡ μουσική] doesn't arouse the fighting spirit in a
reprobate. It would do no good whatsoever for such a man to experience
the sound of the trumpets. As a matter of fact, some foot-soldiers show
themselves to be more cowardly than deer when the pipes give the signal,
while others stand their ground, unfazed no matter the circumstances
(and ...). For certain people when they are locked in battle, a similar kind

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7   Throughout this paper, I use Delattre's 2007 text except at LXVIII.35-6, where I believe Janko's
    reading (refining those of Kemke and Gomperz) is correct. The drawings (*disegni*, desig-
    nated *N*) which were made from these sections of *P.Herc.* 1578 and 1575 before those papyri
    were destroyed in the unrolling process, are reproduced on CD-ROM in Delattre's edition
    (see Janko 2000, 57f.; Angeli 2004, 11f. with n. 4; Delattre 2007, LXXXII-LXXXV, CXX, CXXIII).
    Janko's text fits equally well into the lacunae (cf. Delattre 1989, 63f.; Janko 1992, 124f.), and
    trumpets make more sense in the context of the argument than σαλ[ακ]ώ|[νω]ν, braggarts
    (I also do not think there is cause to read traces of Omega here). I am intrigued but not
    convinced by Angeli's 2004, 14-8 reading, which fits the passage into Diogenes' broader views
    about the cultural value of music (cf. e.g. XXII.4-15). In order to accommodate σαλευόντων,
    Angeli has to read Delta at LXVIII.34 where there is almost certainly a Tau, and to make the
    grammar of the passage somewhat elliptical besides—see further below, 224 with n. 42, on
    related issues with the philosophical argument itself. What seems certain to me is our topic,
    which is Diogenes' theory of musical leadership in wartime.

of vocal utterance also provides a stimulating sign arising out of judgment, and that too arouses resolve in the face of danger.

Though the evidence is fragmentary, the important starting point here is that Philodemus is clearly refuting Diogenes' assertions about the use of trumpet and pipe music in war (ταῖς μάχαις, LXIX.8).[8] Diogenes' views, already articulated at XXXIX.35-LX.5, were that the σάλπιγξ can stir soldiers' θυμός—can rouse their courage for battle (the word σάλπιγξ is preserved in its entirety at XXXIX.41 and partially at 36). Diogenes adduced this example to support his more general view that musical sound can ὁρμὰς ἐμποιεῖν, implant impulses, in its listeners.[9] The opaque details of that process have been examined elsewhere more subtly than there is space to do here.[10] But broadly speaking, Diogenes drew from ἦθος theory as expounded by Plato, whom he sometimes quoted.[11] For the Stoic, though, μέλη do not merely convey representations (μιμήσεις) of psychological dispositions like bravery or temperance, as they did for Plato.[12] Rather, songs actually are themselves temperate (σωφρονικά), courageous (ἀνδρεῖα) etc.—meaning, I take it, that their melodic movement along the scale or rhythmic movement in time is identical with the movement of a soul undergoing emotional or desiderative affections, πάθη, of the kind entailed in the relevant virtue.[13] It is important, if not uncontroversial, to note that Diogenes believes such properties belong to melody and rhythm even without words.[14] One main reason for thinking so is that in passages such

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8   As outlined in Delattre 2007, 130-2. Cf. Gomperz 1885, 15.

9   See Phld. *Mus.* 4.LXXXIX.29-40; cf. XIV.

10   By Barker 2001, 362-5; Woodward 2010, esp. 236-45; Kramarz 2016, 48f., 277-93.

11   See especially Phld. *Mus.* 4.LI.1-LII.3 with Pl. *Lg.* 669b5-e4, 802b1-c4; Rispoli 1974, 62-4; Delattre 2007, 82f. with notes.

12   On emotional states and ethical dispositions as psychological motions which may be mirrored or represented in musical motion, see e.g. Pl. *Lg.* 653a5-4a7, 790d5-e4; *Tim.* 47d2-e2, 80b6-8; Taylor 1928, 634 on *Tim.* 90c6-d7; Halliwell 1986, 118; Barker 1984-9, 2.53; Petraki 2008, 149, 157-65; Pelosi 2010, 66f., 81f.

13   See Phld. *Mus.* 4.XIX.45-XX.6; see further CXVII.23-34 with West 1992, 250; Barker 2001, 353; Woodward 2010, 240-4. Cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 19.27 (= 919b26-37), and see below, 11f., for an example of how this might work. The notion that music's expressiveness comes down to some form of melodic, rhythmic, or tonal movement is widespread in ancient and modern aesthetics (cf. Davies 1994, 229-40). A cogent defense of the idea that melodies may be said metaphorically to 'move' is Scruton 2009, 43-8 against Budd 2003. In his personal notes, Wittgenstein 1980, 51f. goes so far as to cite a section of music using only a linear shape, thus apparently attempting to represent the essence of the sound by tracing a graphic outline of its 'movement.'

14   So Scade 2017, 203 *contra* Nussbaum 1993, 103f., 116f.

as ours Diogenes attributes motivational powers to purely instrumental music: wordless trumpet tunes rouse courage and inspire martial valor.

These views about music which I have attributed to Diogenes would not have had to emerge out of thin air: they would likely have found stable grounding in Stoic physics and psychology. A principle of central importance here is that of the immanent λόγος, a rationally comprehensible structure which pervades the entire universe. For Stoics the cosmos is a union of two things, separable conceptually but not in reality: inert matter and the divine organising principle or consciousness (νοῦς) which activates that matter and gives it form.[15] As a consequence the impressions made upon our minds and senses by the world around us (our φαντασίαι) can already come formed according to a structure that is inherently rational. Some have gone so far as to argue that all human φαντασίαι are of this kind.[16] But for our purposes it is enough that at least some of them are: λογικαὶ φαντασίαι can convey to human perception aspects of a rationally structured world.[17] We may be mistaken in our interpretation or understanding of that structure, but the fact remains that it is there for us to be mistaken about: when we perceive accurately and reason correctly, we are not so much bringing order to the world as discerning the order already present in it.[18]

In Stoic terminology such an act of discernment would be an instance of κατάληψις—this is the third of four cognitive faculties listed in a famous illustration attributed to Zeno of Citium. The list begins with φαντασία and proceeds towards knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) in what might be called an increasing order of certainty or affirmation. First we merely experience a perception (φαντασία), then we recognise (or think we recognise) a correspondence between that perception and the outside world (συγκατάθεσις). If we grasp such a correspondence assuredly and without error (κατάληψις), then we can incorporate it into a scheme of knowledge (ἐπιστήμη).[19]

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15   See esp. Diog. Laert. 7.137.9-39.11; Plot. *Enn.* 6.1.26-7; Philo *De Opificio Mundi* 8.3-9.4 Cohn (≈ *SVF* 2.300, 302, 314, 315). For a further summary of some relevant sources see Kahn 1969, 168-71; Kerferd 1978, 251; Long/Sedley 1987, 1.271; Algra 2003, 165-70; White 2003, 128-30; Gourinat 2009, 49-51.

16   So Kerferd 1978, 252-4. For a more qualified approach wherein λογικαὶ φαντασίαι are *characteristic* of rational animals but not the only kind they may experience, see e.g. Long 1971, 82f.; Togni 2013, 173.

17   See e.g. Diog. Laert. 7.50-1; Cic. *Ac.* 1.11.40-2; Aëtius 4.11, 12 *apud* [Plut.] *Placita Philosophorum*, 900c4-14, 900d4-901a5; cf. [Gal.] *De Philosophica Historia*, 900b8-c10 (= *FDS* 255.14-37, 256, 268, 277.17-27, 277A.9-20).

18   Cf. Obbink 1999, 184-91; Ierodiakonou 2014, 438f.

19   Cic. *Ac.* 2.145 (= *FDS* 369.9-20). Cf. Sext. Emp. *M.* 7.151 (= *FDS* 370.4-10), and see further Kerferd 1978, 254-8; Long/Sedley 1987, 1.256f.; Annas 1990, 186f.; Frede 1999, 297-300; Long 2002, 117f., 123.

This very rough summary, though it skates over several ancient and modern disagreements in interpretation, is nevertheless enough to give an idea of what Diogenes probably thinks happens when we hear music. Those who listen to well-tuned melodies hear a series of successive tones. These tones all belong to the same scale system, and so they are related to one another by a rational structure of intervals. Using the Stoa's language, then, we can say that those who enjoy melodious songs experience λογικαὶ φαντασίαι: they hear a sequence of sounds in which can be discerned the rational structure, the λόγος, which makes those sounds harmonious. It is worth noting that this view of music is consonant with the one adopted by Aristoxenus, whom Diogenes seems to have read and whose *Elementa Harmonica* provides the framework for thinking about musical structures in the way I am arguing Diogenes does.[20] The *Elementa Harmonica* takes as an indispensable premise the claim that music just is a set of relationships between sounds as heard κατὰ τὴν τῆς αἰσθήσεως φαντασίαν, 'according to the impression of our senses'.[21] Trained musicians' ears can perceive the intelligible relationships which govern the composition of well-tuned songs and which inhere in the very sounds of those songs. Thus Diogenes is thought to be at his most Aristoxenean when he speaks of the 'definitions, distinctions, and demonstrations' which we encounter in harmonic science.[22] The Stoic thought that composers could grasp (καταλαμβάνεσθαι) the qualities (ποιότητες) of music which provide the basis for such harmonic reasoning via a sensory faculty (αἴσθησις) which is partially natural (αὐτοφυής) and partially educated via scientific training (ἐπιστημονική).[23] And even before Diogenes, Zeno was rumored to have indicated that music is 'what sound and tuning, gut and sinew, wood and bone produce when they partake of reason (λόγος), rhythm (ῥυθμός), and order (τάξις)'.[24]

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20   On the connections between Diogenes and Aristoxenus see Brancacci 1996; Delattre 2007, 373 n. 2, 432 n. 8.

21   See Aristox. *El. Harm.* 1.8.20-5, 1.9.2-4, and cf. 2.48.20-5 with further comments in Barker 1991, 204f.; 1984-89, 2.123f.; Levin 2007, 415.

22   Phld. *Mus.* 4.XLVIII.24-9: ὅ⌊ρους⌋ καὶ διαιρέσεις καὶ ἀπ⌊οδείξεις⌋ ἐν ἁρμονικῆι πλείου[ς εἶναι]—cf. 4.CXXXV.26-8.

23   Phld. *Mus.* 4.CXV.26-35; cf. XXXIV.3-7. Diogenes is probably also influenced here by the Academic Speusippus, who formulated a similar view as a modification of Pl. *Tim.* 27d6-8a3 (see Sext. Emp. *M.* 7.145-6 with Delattre 1993, 70 n. 9, 84f.; 2007, 210 n. 1). But what Speusippus means by ἐπιστημονικὴ αἴσθησις is slightly different from what Diogenes means, and the Academic's terminology at this point has been overlaid with Stoic vocabulary by a middle man, perhaps Antiochus of Ascalon. See Parente 1980, 242-6; Tarán 1981, 431-4; Kaklamanou 2012, 1185, 1189 n. 17.

24   Plut. *Mor. Virt.* 443a6-10 (= *SVF* 1.299): ἴωμεν … ὅπως καταμάθωμεν οἵαν ἔντερα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ ξύλα καὶ ὀστᾶ λόγου καὶ ῥυθμοῦ μετασχόντα καὶ τάξεως ἐμμέλειαν καὶ φωνὴν ἀφίησιν. Trans. modified from Scade 2017, following Helmbold.

Thus both Diogenes' own tradition and the *Elementa Harmonica* would have furnished ample intellectual resources for arguing that music is a φαντασία conveying some real rational structure which listeners might grasp via cognitive discernment (κατάληψις).[25] Perhaps such a λόγος would need to be articulable in language (as a 'sayable', a λεκτόν).[26] But it would not itself need to be expressed in language any more than the proportion we discern in a well-built house, though it can be described with words, is itself made of words. Thus, for a Stoic, instrumental music could certainly contain within it structured movement akin or identical to that of a rational soul experiencing emotions and choosing actions.

It will be helpful to imagine how these rather abstract ideas might be cashed out in terms of the trumpet. Perhaps the notes of the Dorian mode are related to one another in a discernible rational structure, and perhaps when tunes move between those notes they move in the kind of way souls move when pursuing the noble and avoiding shame—that is, when performing various courageous actions. Then a particular trumpet tune could move with the same motion as that of a soul when (for instance) its owner charges into battle though outnumbered. An individual soldier hearing that tune would then grasp that motion via κατάληψις. If such grasping entails somehow receiving the relevant structure into one's own soul (Zeno's image is that of a hand closing into a fist), then our soldier would, just by hearing the tune, be fired up with the precise kind of ἀνδρεία required to perform the charge himself. For a modern parallel we might imagine the tune of 'I Vow to Thee My Country', when played rousingly on the trumpet, inspiring a private on the shores of Normandy to make the ultimate sacrifice.

This is all nonsense according to Philodemus, primarily because Epicurus asserted that αἴσθησις, sense-perception, is ἄλογος. To be sure, sense-perceptions for an Epicurean are also ἀληθεῖς, true. But this can only mean that when we have a perceptual experience like hearing a sound, we can know for certain a) that we have that experience, and b) that the quality of that experience, given the healthy operation of our faculties, conveys a reality about the outside world and a stable basis for further reasoning. By contrast that reasoning itself—any inference we may draw from our perceptions, and any decision we may freely choose to make as a result of such an inference—is a function of our rational mind, an operation of λόγος wholly distinct from the mere irrational

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25   Similarly, Scade 2017, 214-6.
26   This may be suggested by e.g. Diog. Laert. 7.63.5-9; Sext. Emp. *M.* 8.70.2-74.5 (= *FDS* 696.10-15; *SVF* 2.187); cf. Togni 2013, 173.

fact of our sensory experience.[27] For Philodemus this implies a stark divide between two widely discussed faculties of musical experience: ἀκοή, hearing, and διάνοια, intellection or cognitive activity.[28] Philodemus thinks melodic and rhythmic sounds are mere sensory experiences, perceptual events which can cause pleasure but cannot of themselves generate rational judgments or decisions (such as the decision to charge into battle).[29] If a sound—such as that of spoken language—does influence our thoughts, what causes that is not the sound itself but the content semantically encoded within it.[30]

Philodemus therefore wants to enforce an impermeable boundary between hearing melodic and rhythmic sound, a naked fact of perception which may delight us as tasty food does, and comprehending words, a rational process which may inspire thought.[31] These experiences remain ontologically distinct even though we have both simultaneously when we hear poetry sung. So artists like Pindar and Simonides, says Philodemus, affect us in two capacities. As musicians (καθὸ μὲν μουσικοί) they please our ears with τὰ ἀσήμαντα, meaningless noises. As poets (καθὸ δὲ ποιηταί) they may convince us to take virtuous action using λόγοι, meaningful words.[32]

These being his philosophical commitments, Philodemus must account for the fact that when actual soldiers hear trumpet blasts, they really do respond by going to battle. On the face of it this looks like pure musical sound prompting

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27 On the truth of sense-perceptions see e.g. Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1109a8-c4; Sext. Emp. *M.* 7.203-4; Cic. *Luc.* 25. On their irrationality and our application of rational thought to them see Diog. Laert. 10.31-2; *Ep. ad Her.* 38-9. On the complex interpretative issues surrounding the claims I have made here see esp. Striker 1977, 128-42; Long/Sedley 1987, 1.85f., 94f.; Everson 1990, 169-81; Asmis 1999, 266-71; O'Keefe 2014, 462f.; Hahmann 2015, 277-301 with further bibliography at 271-6.

28 The interrelation of these two faculties in musical experience is perhaps most elaborately described in our ancient sources by Aristoxenus—see e.g. *El. Harm.* 33.4-8, 46.24-50.14 with Barker 1991, 211-4; 2005, 163-5.

29 Halliwell 2002, 256f. has noted the similarity between this Philodemean position and Eduard Hanslick's 1922, 1-20, 43-8 *et passim* denial that music expresses anything other than itself. It may be added that Diogenes, by contrast, belongs to a line of theorists who see in music some structural resemblance to features of emotions (like soul-movements) or to things generated by emotions (like physical gesture). That line stretches not only backwards to Plato but also forwards to the likes of Langer 1941, 167-93; Kivy 1980, 54-6, 83; Davies 1994, 228-9; Robinson 2005, 310-21—although some (like Plato, Diogenes, and Robinson) think music acquires these resemblances because it genuinely communicates some real emotion, while others (like Kivy and Davies) think expressive resemblances in music are not necessarily actual expressions of any genuinely occurring emotion.

30 So Angeli 2004, 15-6, 19.

31 See Phld. *Mus.* 4.LXXXIV.30-37, XCII.1-5, CXII.33-42, CXXXIII.19-26, CXLVII.6-11; Kramarz 2016, 285f.

32 Phld. *Mus.* 4.CXLIII.11-39.

voluntary action. But, replies Philodemus, soldiers are already cowardly or brave: the intervallic patterns produced by the σάλπιγξ do not make them act virtuously if they would not otherwise (*Mus.* 4.LXVIII.33-40). In fact, trumpets on the battlefield do not function as musical instruments at all. Instead, the trumpet's sound, like a vocal utterance (φωνή), is a σημεῖον ἐξ ὑπολήψεως (LXIX.7-12).

Ὑπόληψις is a difficult word whose meaning is debated. Aristotle seems to have coined the relevant usage of the term as a catch-all for various kinds of cognitive judgment.[33] Simplicius glosses it as a 'rational awareness' (λογικὴ γνῶσις) and John Philoponus says it is a more general or common way of saying 'the rational soul' (ἡ λογικὴ ψυχή).[34] For Epicurus, ὑπόληψις was a judgment or notion about the world which could be accurate or inaccurate.[35] Philodemus duly uses it in this way also.[36] Ὑπολήψεις for him are often false, but not necessarily: their salient feature, mentioned explicitly in *On Music*, is that they are rational (λογικαί).[37] So ὑπόληψις, like δόξα, happens when we determine that something is the case: when I see a Snickers bar, there arise in my mind certain judgments, such as that it looks delicious and I want to eat it. Those, as I understand it, are ὑπολήψεις.

Philodemus argues that the military trumpet is used as a signifier (σημεῖον) of ὑπόληψις. For both Philodemus and Epicurus, a σημεῖον is something that we perceive, but from which we can infer the existence or characteristics of something that we do not perceive (something from the realm of τὸ ἄδηλον).[38] In this case the unperceived thing must be ὑπόληψις, a cognitive judgment taking place within another person: when I hear the trumpet sound, I infer that my commander is thinking, 'it's time to attack'. This fits quite neatly into the Epicurean theory of language described in the *Epistle to Herodotus*. The relevant section is this one (75.6-6.7):

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33   See Arist. *De An.* 427b24-6 (cf. *Metaph.* 981a1-12) with Chase 2010, 386f.; Shields 2016, 279f.

34   Simplicius *in* Arist. *De An.* 427b16; Philoponus *in* Arist. *De An.* 427b24.

35   See Epicurus, *Ep. ad Men.* 124 with Heßler 2014, 180 (and cf. Dyson 2009, 114f.); Diog. Laert. 10.34. We can see an example of this usage below (222f.) in the *Epistle to Herodotus*, where the impersonal construction refers to something we must suppose about the historical formation of language without having witnessed it ourselves.

36   E.g. Phld. *Piet.* XLVI.1305-21, LXIA.1741-9, LXXI.2032-39 Obbink; *Dis.* 3.8.38 Diels.

37   Phld. *Mus.* 4.XCVII.35-41.

38   See Furley 1971, 612-7; De Lacy/De Lacy 1978, 185-9; Asmis 1984, 176f., 190-6; 1999, 283-94; Allen 2008, 195-9, 226-41. For Philodemus' use of signs to infer about ἄδηλα see esp. Phld. *De Sig.* 1.1-19, 14.2-27 De Lacy/De Lacy.

(ὑποληπτέον) καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ θέσει γενέσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὰς τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθ᾽ ἕκαστα ἔθνη ἴδια πασχούσας πάθη καὶ ἴδια λαμβανούσας φαντάσματα ἰδίως τὸν ἀέρα ἐκπέμπειν στελλόμενον ὑφ᾽ ἑκάστων τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων, … ὕστερον δὲ κοινῶς καθ᾽ ἕκαστα ἔθνη τὰ ἴδια τεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ τὰς δηλώσεις ἧττον ἀμφιβόλους γενέσθαι ἀλλήλοις καὶ συντομωτέρως δηλουμένας.

(We must suppose that) names, too, did not come about by convention at first, but that the very natures of people within each community, undergoing their own affections and receiving their own impressions, individually emitted breath that was arranged according to each of those affections and impressions … Then later they assigned their own names together within each community with the goal of making their indications more succinct and less ambiguous to one another.

Names are the sounds we emit upon experiencing πάθη and φαντάσματα, impressions made upon us by the outside world. Our words are δηλώσεις, indications, and they δηλοῦνται, indicate. The word δήλωσις itself is not common in Epicurus' extant writings, but it fits easily into the Epicurean theory of σημείωσις just described, wherein signs are perceptible things that tell us about ἄδηλα, imperceptible things.[39] So for words to be δηλώσεις must mean that they are sounds which make perceptible to others what is otherwise ἄδηλον: our imperceptible internal cogitations. At first these verbal sounds are emitted naturally in response to individuals' experiences of the world (their ἰδία πάθη and φαντάσματα). So perhaps when I see the Snickers bar I impulsively blurt out, 'mmmm!' But eventually communities of individuals agree together on a standardised set of sounds that will more reliably and precisely denote thoughts.[40] So now our particular tribe can agree together that I should represent my experience of the Snickers to you using the sounds 'that looks delicious, give it here'.

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39   Cf. Diog. Laert. 10.32.8-11; Epicurus *Ep. ad Men.* 38.1-8.

40   The issue of how different the sounds initially emitted are between tribes, and whether their differences depend on different environmental experiences or differing racial make-ups, is unclear and controversial (see Brunschwig 1977; Long/Sedley 1987, 1.100f., 2.98). So is the degree to which our initial utterances change when we learn to refine them by convention (see Sedley 1973, 19; Schenkeveld/Barnes 1999, 179f.; Holmes 2005, 557-60; Reinhardt 2008, 128f., 137f.; Stevens 2008, 532f.; Mackey 2015, 72f.; and cf. Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* 4.549-62, 5.1028-90; Cole 1967, 62). What is certain is that the first stage of language is generated by impulse, not intentional assignment (cf. Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12.II.8-v.14 Smith), whereas humans learn at a later time to assign sounds to thoughts by convention.

The trumpet as used in battle is for Philodemus merely a special case of this second, later kind of conventionally assigned sonic communication. A group of soldiers agrees together that certain sounds will stand in for certain thoughts. Among those sounds will be both vocal utterances (φωνή) and various intervals blown on the σάλπιγξ. So when my commander thinks 'it's time to attack', he can either shout 'charge!' or blow a particular series of trumpet notes. Either sound is meaningless in itself, but comes to have meaning when members of a certain community—in this case, members of an army—come to associate it reliably with a particular ὑπόληψις.[41] This directly contradicts Diogenes' idea that certain kinds of melodies and rhythms just inherently possess ethical structures which we grasp via κατάληψις.[42] For Diogenes, trumpet tunes are objectively imbued with psychological impact. For Philodemus, they are simply arbitrary symbols assigned, like words, to stand in for thoughts.

3   The Context: Ancient Trumpets in Literary and Historical Warfare

Daniel Delattre compared Philodemus' pronouncements with *Aeneid* 6.162-5, which gives this paper its title. The Trojan trumpeter Misenus is briefly eulogised in the wake of his undeserved death, and we are told that his *tuba* could 'move men' (*ciere viros*) and 'inflame Mars with song' (*Martem accendere cantu*). This sounds inescapably Diogenean: trumpet music instinctively rouses bloodlust and inspires soldiers to fight. There may even be a parallel between *ciere* and the Greek κινεῖν, a standard term for the power of musical sound to rouse emotion. But, observes Delattre, Misenus is a special case: a preternaturally gifted musician whose talent surpasses the normal capacities of music. Vergil specifies elsewhere (3.239, 10.310) that in fact the trumpet is a military signal, *signum*. Vergil very likely knew Philodemus and studied Epicureanism.[43] So perhaps, though he made an exception for the exceptional Misenus, he was

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41   Cf. Phld. *Mus.* 4.LXVI.45-LXVII.11: music arouses people to religious revelry not because it entrances them spiritually, but because it signals the start of worship δι' ὑπολήψεις [οὐ]δὲ φυσιωμένας, 'via cognitive association which is not naturally produced'.

42   This is why I do not find persuasive Angeli's (2004, 18f.) claim that assigning powers of signification to wordless trumpet tunes would essentially be admitting defeat for Philodemus, so that the views expressed in our passage must belong to Diogenes. My argument here is much more in agreement with that of Neubecker (1986, 134-6), whom Angeli aims to refute.

43   See above, n. 4 with *P.Herc. Paris.* 2 fr. 279a, and cf. e.g. Vergil's pointed reference at *Ecl.* 2.65 to Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* 2.258 (with Fowler 2002, *ad loc.*). But see further the *caveat*, wisely posed by Farrell (2014, 88-90), following and augmenting Horsfall 1995, 82; Cairns 2004, 314, against reading too much into such allusions.

content elsewhere to concede Philodemus' point that the trumpet is a conventionally assigned σημεῖον.[44] In order to illuminate further the intellectual framework within which Diogenes and Philodemus were operating, I will now supplement Delattre's reference with some passages from archaic and classical Greek poetry in which the trumpet's semantic and musical properties feature prominently. Both theorists were conversant in the Hellenic poetic tradition that preceded them,[45] and understanding how the trumpet features in that tradition will help us understand what kind of instrument they were imagining when they proposed their respective theories.

Homer (*Il.* 18.217-23) likens the σάλπιγξ to Achilles' (probably wordless) battle cry, in response to which πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός, 'everyone's spirit was stirred'—with courage in the case of the Greeks; with terror, military disorder, and flight in the case of the Trojans.[46] This might sound like score two for Diogenes: another instance in which the trumpet's pure musical sound generates an emotional response and consequent set of actions. But we should remember that Philodemus thinks any sound, including a non-verbal φωνή, can stand in for a thought if those hearing and uttering it all agree that it is to be so interpreted. That could also be how the σάλπιγξ functions in the *Eumenides* (566-9), where Athena instructs a herald to blast the signal for quiet in the house, or at *Troades* 1265-9, where the instrument is actually said to participate in the enactment of a λόγος (here a military order).[47] Finally, Athena herself was sometimes called σάλπιγξ, and in Sophocles' *Ajax* (14-7) her voice is compared with a trumpet call.[48] This simile is applied not to inchoate war-cries but to articulate speech, and when Odysseus hears Athena's brassy tones he says, ξυναρπάζω φρενί. Philodemus, were he alive today, could translate this

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44   Delattre 2004, 254f.

45   See for example the minute analyses of citations from Homer, Timotheus, and Euripides in which Philodemus engages at *Po.* 1.LXXXIX.5-CX.9. Cf. *P.Herc.* 1676 VI.27-VII.7.

46   The trumpet (and paean-hymns) are greeted with similar terror among the barbarian forces at Aesch. *Pers.* 388-95—the sound is said to have 'inflamed' (ἐπέφλεγεν) those who heard it with fear, as a result of the high spirits and readiness for battle which it expressed on the part of the Greeks (see Garvie 2009, 193). The trumpet is also used as a rousing call to battle alongside a paean at Eur. *Pho.* 1102 (see Mastronarde 1994, 456).

47   On the other hand, commentators have noted the onomatopoetic imitation of the trumpet's sound in the *Eumenides* passage (see Egan 1979, 203-12), and the use of syllables to mimic the trumpet recurs elsewhere (see Enn. *Ann.* 450-1 Skutsch; Pöhlmann/West 2001, 8 on Eleusis Inv. 907). This might suggest that the instrument's sound itself, not just the orders it happened to deliver, was distinctive and striking.

48   On the myth linking the goddess to the instrument and the resultant epithet see Paus. 2.21.3; Lycophron *Alexandra* 915, 986; Tzetzes *in* Lycophron 915; *Schol. in* Lycophron 986; *Schol. in* Hom. *Il.* 18.218; Stanford 1963, 57; Hornblower 2015, 345.

as P.J. Finglass (2011) and many others do, with some version of 'I grasp (your meaning) with my mind'.[49] Diogenes, though, would prefer Storr's (1913) rendering: 'those accents strike my ear and thrill my soul'. The ambiguity is telling. In the main, these passages seem to me to favour the Diogenean idea that the trumpet's emotional resonance results from an objective correspondence between its musical tonality and the disposition of the soul. But a committed Philodemean apologist might discern a pattern of poetic associations between the trumpet and verbal language, both of which function as conventional signifiers for a speaker's thoughts.

Such a defender of Philodemus might also point out that ancient military tacticians really did assign meaning to trumpet signals much in the way the Epicurean indicates, choosing different note sequences for reveille, armament, attack, *et cetera*.[50] Roughly two centuries after Philodemus, Flavius Arrianus writes that one can make announcements in the army in three ways: with vocal utterance (φωνή), visual signs (ὁρατοῖς σημείοις), and with the trumpet—nonverbal symbols lack precision, but can cut across the din of battle.[51] Aristides Quintilianus asserts that trumpet calls are incomprehensible to enemy forces who do not know their assigned meanings, and the Peripatetic author of the *De Mundo* reflects that each soldier responds differently to the same trumpet call when each has been instructed about what that call must signify to him.[52] Xenophon confirms that these meanings can be reassigned at will when he tells us how he tricked the enemy by commanding his men to run when they heard the signal usually used for 'attack'.[53] All of this basically conforms to Philodemus' claim: soldiers agree together which note sequences to assign to various ideas, thus encoding a makeshift language into otherwise senseless sound.

4 Conclusions: What the Trumpet Tells Us

All of this contextual information can help both to frame and to answer the most interesting question raised by the *De Musica* passage with which we began. That question is: what features of the trumpet, in its historical usages

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49   See Finglass 2011, 142; Garvie 1998, 125f.
50   See Pritchett 1971, 105-8; Hanson 1989, 99; Krentz 1991, 114-7; West 1992, 118f.; Barker 1996, 1003; Hale 2003, 267-73; Hornblower 2008, 185f.
51   Arr. *Tact.* 27.1-4 DeVoto. Cf. Asclep. *Tact.* 12.10; All. *Tact.* 35.2; Ammianus 27.10.12; Xen. *A.* 5.2.14, 6.5.27.
52   Arist. Quint. *De Mus.* 62.6-19 Winnington-Ingram; [Arist.] *De Mundo* 399b2-10.
53   Xen. *A.* 4.3.29-32; cf. Anderson 1970, 79-83.

or literary appearances, made it important enough for both Philodemus and Diogenes to devote time, attention, and ink to it? The answer lies in the arresting ambiguity of the military trumpet's essence, purpose, and function. This ambiguity raises three more questions, or perhaps one more question phrased three ways, which are central to ancient philosophy about music. First, what is music? Second, what counts as a musical instrument? Third, what can music do to the people who hear it?

My first question is anachronistically phrased. Its subject, the English 'music', famously has no neat counterpart in the dynamic Greek and Latin tradition of describing what happens when sound becomes art.[54] Poetic song for Plato and Aristotle is a tripartite blend of three things which I will translate as verbal language (λόγος), tonal arrangement (ἁρμονία), and rhythmically structured time (ῥυθμός).[55] Similarly Pseudo-Plutarch's Soterichus, invoking Aristoxenus, remarks that in μουσική our hearing (ἀκοή) simultaneously perceives a pitch (φθόγγος), a duration (χρόνος), and a letter or syllable (γράμμα or συλλαβή) united in one sound.[56] Trumpet calls have ἁρμονία and ῥυθμός but not λόγος in the sense of verbal language; that is, they lack λέξις, γράμματα, and συλλαβαί. But in military contexts they do convey semantic meanings. Philodemus thinks this makes them language and not music because he wants to claim, *contra* all the theorists I just mentioned, that there is something called language, λόγοι— defined by its possession of semantic properties—which is entirely distinct from musical sound, μουσική—defined as pure sensory input without any significance attached. Consequently even melody and rhythm, if they are used as σημεῖα, are also not μουσική but rather the particular linguistic sounds which happen to have been chosen on this occasion to convey meaning.

So is the trumpet a musical instrument? Modern studies of the σάλπιγξ and the *tuba* often note that the extant examples of both seem designed to maximise communicative efficacy and not artistic merit: some probably could not even play a full scale.[57] The trumpet sounds hideous according to Pollux; according to Aristotle it sounds like an elephant.[58] Comparing the pipes to the trumpet, Marcus Cornelius Fronto says, *minus est soni, plus difficultatis*,

54   On this point see e.g. Murray/Wilson 2004, 1-6; Woodward 2010, 236, 244f.; Rotstein 2012, 94; Brüllmann 2013, 349f.; D'Angour 2015, 188-90. Cf. West 1981, 113f.

55   See Pl. *R.* 398d1-3 (and cf. *Gorg.* 501d7-2b8); Arist. *Po.* 1447a13-23.

56   [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1144a8-b2 with Barker 2007, 236-9. On the Aristoxenian pedigree of this passage see Lasserre 1954, 102f., 175f.; Meriani 2003, 51-5; Rocconi 2005, 296 with n. 26; Barker 2013, 402 with n. 6.

57   See Krentz 1991, 112; West 1992, 118f.

58   Pollux 4.85.1-86.1; Arist. *Hist. An.* 536b20-3.

implying that performance instruments have an ornate sound, but military trumpets just need to be loud.[59]

Yet Horace says something different: the double-pipe (*tibia*) was originally thin and simple but has now become *tubae aemula*, a rival to the trumpet— while, and perhaps because, the Romans have developed an appetite for greater musical complexity and volume.[60] There were competitions in trumpet-playing that may well have been judged on aesthetic criteria, and Plutarch describes a σάλπιγξ song which includes all manner of flourishes (κρούματα) and modulations (μεταβολαί).[61] The author of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *On Things Heard* suggests that the trumpet's tone could be modified to fit the atmosphere ὅταν κωμάζωσιν—that is, it could be mood music for a raucous celebration.[62] Depending on which ancient source you consult, then, you will find that the trumpet's sound is either monotonously offensive or appealingly versatile. This speaks to the question, *what is it for*? Is it an artistic instrument or a utilitarian communications device, and what qualities, be they aesthetic or structural, determine the answer?

Lastly, and most importantly for Philodemus and Diogenes: if the trumpet does make music, what does that mean about how music affects its audience? Or rather, given that the trumpet makes people adopt certain behaviours, does that qualify or disqualify it as a musical instrument? I suggested above that the word φρήν can be rendered into English in at least two ways: as the 'heart' which feels and perceives, or as the 'mind' which comprehends, judges, and decides. But that too is an anachronism. There is one word for both in Greek because these features of human consciousness—qualitative sensation and propositional intellection—are irreducibly entangled in much ancient thought just as they are in much modern experience. Music engages our senses, sways our moods, and may even influence our actions.[63] The ἦθος theories to which Diogenes is heir inevitably account for this fact by somehow

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59   *Epistulae ad M. Caesarem et Invicem*, 3.1.

60   See *Ars* 202-11 with further comments by Brink 1971, 262-9.

61   See Plut. *De Soll. An.* 973b7-e4; Pollux 4.88; Krentz 1991, 113.

62   [Arist.] *Aud.* 803a24-7.

63   The capacity of music to trigger neurological responses even in those who do not understand the language of a song's words, or who cannot do so because they are unconscious or semiconscious, is currently being shown quite convincingly by neuroscience: see O'Kelly et al. 2013; Mehr et al. 2018. ᾽Ηθος theory has fallen out of fashion in many of its details, but its main thesis is not unlike others which do have serious currency in modernity—see Scruton 2009, 49-56 and above, nn. 13, 29. At any rate there can be little doubt that music's influence upon ethical attitudes and cultural mores remains a source of anxiety: for one highly influential treatment, see Bloom 1987, 68-81.

framing the ear and the mind as co-operators, mapping out an intricate web of relationships between what we hear, feel, think, and do when we listen to music. But Philodemus wants to preserve the distinctions between thought and perception so rigidly that he must sever entirely (and, in my view, quite mistakenly) the sound of a tune from the meaning of its words. The trumpet lies right on the hazy borderlines between music and language, between sense and thought, between the aesthetic and the semantic properties of sound. That is why it becomes such a live issue for both Diogenes and Philodemus as they puzzle over what music is and does.

Acknowledgements

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The War-Trumpet and the Sound of Domination in Ancient Greek Thought

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Abstract

In this piece, I contend that the war-trumpet (*salpinx*) was understood in ancient Greek literature as connected to the divine and invincible. I show how this understanding arose from a focus on the sound of the war-trumpet, accompanied by silence around the physical act of playing it, inasmuch as this act, in the parallel case of the *aulos*, reveals embodiment and vulnerability. In archaic and classical texts, ranging among Aristophanes, Thucydides, Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Aristotle, we see that the sound of the *salpinx* is both infallible and capable of connoting the domination of Greek males in several fields: battles, courts of law, and the imagining of human and nonhuman ontology.

Keywords

This essay is about how one particular sound is configured as both constructing and blurring hierarchies of power and identity in classical Greek thought. This sonic activity takes place largely in the realm of men and gods, an imagined ecology perhaps, but one that impinges upon imaginings of actual animals too, as I will suggest at the end of the piece. The examples from Greek literature that I discuss here illustrate a very basic concept: that to imagine power before an audience is to enact it, especially when the imagining takes place in a socially licensed form of storytelling. The story of one sound and its effects as told in Greek epic, tragedy and other genres would have affected the audience's understanding of what they heard elsewhere—the battlefield and

in courts of law, for starters. Thus a relationship between hearing sounds and gathering connotations for these sounds worked on and off the stage of poetic performance of various kinds, with each kind of experience affecting the other.

The particular object I am examining here is the war-trumpet (*salpinx*) and my aim is to isolate a few aspects of how this object gets conceptualized in relation to bodies and the voice in Greek thought. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, a student of Socrates explains his teacher's view on the mechanics of gnat noise. After he describes how the breath of a gnat is pushed violently through its narrow intestine and out its ass, his interlocutor happily exclaims, 'then the ass of gnats is a war-trumpet!'[1] (σάλπιγξ ὁ πρωκτός ἐστιν ἄρα τῶν ἐμπίδων [*Nu.* 165]). As is often the case, the joke lies in the yawning juxtaposition of terms: the gnat is a tiny insect of no consequence; the *salpinx* is a powerful instrument whose sound signifies both the terror of combat and the power of the divine. In the pages that follow, I look at instances in Greek literature where the human voice gets conceptualized as similarly, if less humorously, transformed through an object that may be thought of as a prosthesis for the vocalizing body and its abilities. If a gnat is said to contain a trumpet, it is a trumpet acquired strictly through the use of metaphor; its capability of being loud through farts is inborn. An average Greek man, by contrast, could only be heard far and wide—seemingly without limits across space—by way of an attachment, an instrument, crafted to fulfill precisely this function.

In this light, it is important however to understand the context of the *salpinx*: in the world I am discussing—Greece in the eighth through fifth centuries BCE—a *salpinx* was likely to be easily the loudest sound that one person could produce without the architectural resources of a theater or odium. Its designation in translation as a *war*-trumpet points to the particular technological innovations that it offers: portability and durability. Even in the messy, crowded context of battle, whether by sea or by land, a *salpinx*, and only a *salpinx*, could be expected to be widely audible to thousands of listeners, a

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1 The translations of the Greek are my own. Some of this work overlaps with parts of a longer article published in a forthcoming volume: M. Feldman and J.T. Zeitlin, eds, *The Voice and Something More: Essays Toward Materiality*, Chicago: UCP. A scholiast on this passage expands upon the analogy as a matter of shape, picking up on the student's prior description of Socrates' views on gnat-noise, with the upper part of the insect being 'narrow' (στενή), and the lower part being 'hollow' (κοίλη). Cf. Dover (1970, 85) on how this passage may refer to the auditory theories of Alcmaeon. See also a similar sort of joke in the *Batrachomyomachia*: 'and then mosquitoes, bearing great war-trumpets, trumpeted the terrible clash of war' (198f. καὶ τότε κώνωπες μεγάλας σάλπιγγας ἔχοντες / δεινὸν ἐσάλπιγξαν πολέμου κτύπον). This is more clearly a mockery of certain loud passages of war from the *Iliad*, which feature war-trumpets, as we will see below. Cf. Krentz (1991, 110-12) and Mathiesen (1999, 230-4) on our evidence for the physical construction of the *salpinx*, which was generally shaped from bronze.

point emphasized by Peter Krentz in his study of the role of the *salpinx* in Greek warfare.[2] This fact alone—the *salpinx*'s singularity in respect the communicative capability it brought to humans—points to its association with the power of the divine, a point I will explore further below. The association of this divinely endowed instrument with *some* humans, Greek men particularly, points to further implications that arise in regard to the *salpinx*, including its role in signifying potency in war and imposing silence and order, or silence *as* order, in courts of law.

1   The *Salpinx* at War

The place of the *salpinx* in the Greek imagination is partly illuminated by contrast to the role of the *aulos* (an oboe-like instrument).[3] Greek literature gives us a number of evocative stories of *aulos*-playing; its erstwhile practitioners range from the goddess Athena and the satyr Marsyas to girls hanging around at Plato's *Symposium*. The embodied effects of blowing into the *aulos* on its practitioners is often noted in literature: playing the *aulos* puffs out the cheeks and prevents the production of words, or *logoi*; its presence is thus problematic in poetry and philosophy, as much scholarship has shown.[4] I pause here on only one example of the *aulos'* effect, from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (5.70f.), which is exceptional from the myths I have mentioned in focusing on the effect of the *aulos* on the bodies of its hearers as opposed to that of its performer:[5]

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2 Cf. Krentz (1991, 110) on how the *salpinx* was able to "overcome both aural and visual obstacles".

3 The contrast, yet connectedness, between the two instruments, and the association of the *salpinx* with the violence of war, is particularly highlighted by the anecdote of Aristoxenus' gradual curing a Theban man driven mad by the sound of the *salpinx* by use of the soothing sounds of an *aulos*, which inoculates him, bit by bit, against the sound of the *salpinx*. See Apollon. *Mir.* 49.1-3, and cf. Provenza (2012, 120-2), Fortenbaugh (2012, 162-9) and Raffa (2018, 109-113) on this passage.

4 On the puffing of Athena's cheeks in particular, see Melanipp. PMG 758, Telest. PMG 805 and Plut. *Cohib. ir.* 456b. On Alciabides' disgust with *aulos*-driven cheek-puffing, in which he invokes the disgust of Athena, see Plut. *Alc.* 2.4-6. On these and other myths and fears regarding the *aulos*, see Wilson 1999, Serghidou 2001, Martin 2003, Csapo 2004, Steiner 2013, LeVen 2014, Fongoni 2016 and Hagel 2018.

5 Cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2f., for a similar tale.

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ
ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν ὁμοῦ
ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες
προσέλθοιεν καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ μεγάλα
στρατόπεδα ἐν ταῖς προσόδοις ποιεῖν.

After this they joined battle, the Argives and their allies advancing eagerly
and in fury, but the Lacedaemonians coming slowly and to the music of
many *aulos*-players placed all together, not at all for the sake of a divine
matter, but rather so that they might advance evenly, stepping in rhythm
and so that their order would not scatter into disorder, as large armies are
apt to do in the moment of engaging.

We are used to understanding the Spartans as the people who expelled the arts
from their lives as a frivolous thing, but here Thucydides shows us an example
of music being used in a decidedly non-frivolous way: through the tempos
produced by *aulos*-playing, the hasty and disordered martial temperament of
other cultures is eschewed. The rhythm of a collective of *aulos*-players is used
to impose order on a collective of warring bodies.

This focus in Thucydides' anecdote on the effect of the *sound* of the *aulos*
rather than on its embodied sources brings us close to the standard literary
realm of the *salpinx*. Indeed, unlike the *aulos* in most anecdotes, the *sal-
pinx* is not imagined from the perspective of the player at all but rather from
that of the listener. I have found no archaic or classical text where the body
or mouth of the *salpinx*-player is imagined, nor any story of its origin.[6] (This

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6 Post-classical authors did scrape together a few thoughts on the invention of the *salpinx*:
   Pausanias (2.21.3) suggests that someone named Tyrsenus created it and that his son taught
   the Dorians how to play it, while also setting up a sanctuary for 'Athena of the *salpinx*'. It
   is also credited to, or associated with, Athena in the scholia to *Iliad* 18.219 and *Alexandra*
   of Lycophron (cf. 915). Nonetheless, the lack of a fulsome 'creation myth' for the trumpet
   remains notable and is explored by Ziolkowski (1999), who concludes that the instrument's
   association with death, by way of its use in war and at funerals, discouraged poets from fram-
   ing a myth. This does not strike me as a convincing explanation, given the willingness of
   Greek poets to explore death and death-related phenomena in many contexts. Perhaps the
   salpinx lacks an origin story in the archaic and classical periods in part because it is not con-
   ceived of as strictly *musical*, so much as sonic, and since it is not thought of as being played
   so much as heard. West (1992, 118) demarcates it as non-musical and Nordquist (1996, 242)
   explores how the physical limitations of its form would also have kept it from offering much
   in the way of melodic variation.

picture changes when one reaches the Hellenistic period, as the article here by Spencer Klavan, 213-34, shows so beautifully). Rather, the *salpinx* is always configured as fully formed and loudly blaring, often from some distance. It incites and connotes imminent destruction, most frequently on the field of battle. In this sense and context, it acts as a divine and invulnerable sonic force.

For divine voices were sometimes imagined in Greek culture as the sources of prophetic knowledge and poetic inspiration, but they were even more commonly thought of as a source of terror, especially in the context of war. In these scenarios, such fearful sounds often were heard as precursors of destruction, as in the war-scenes of the *Iliad*, where violent onslaughts are prefaced by terrifying 'war cries' from the side that inevitably is victorious.[7] The most effective of all such cries is performed by Achilles, who at this point lacks armor and cannot fight with arms, but with affect alone (*Il.* 18.217-24, 228-31):

> ἔνθα στὰς ἤϋσ', ἀπάτερθε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
> φθέγξατ'· ἀτὰρ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον ὦρσε κυδοιμόν.
> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀριζήλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ
> ἄστυ περιπλομένων δηΐων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων,
> ὣς τότ' ἀριζήλη φωνὴ γένετ' Αἰακίδαο.
> οἳ δ' ὡς οὖν ἄϊον ὄπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο,
> πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός· ἀτὰρ καλλίτριχες ἵπποι
> ἂψ ὄχεα τρόπεον· ὄσσοντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῷ
> ...
> τρὶς μὲν ὑπὲρ τάφρου μεγάλ' ἴαχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
> τρὶς δὲ κυκήθησαν Τρῶες κλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι.
> ἔνθα δὲ καὶ τότ' ὄλοντο δυώδεκα φῶτες ἄριστοι
> ἀμφὶ σφοῖς ὀχέεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσιν.

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7   For example, one battle-scene begins with the cry of Strife (Eris) 'great, terrible, and shrill' (*Il.* 11.10f. μέγα τε δεινόν τέ / ὄρθι), which 'puts strength into the hearts of the Achaeans' (11f.) and leads quickly to the war cry of Agamemnon (15). Next comes his arming with, among other things, a shield covered with the face of the terrifying Gorgon (36f.), terrifying in face *and* voice, as we know, and finally a god-sponsored crash of thunder around him (45) that signals his power to wreak destruction on his foes. Not all war cries are created equal, however: in one case, the Trojans rush to war clamoring like fowl, while the Achaeans approach in dignified silence (*Il.* 3.1-9). Cf. Gurd (2016, 27-32), on sounds, war, and destruction in the *Iliad*. Voice can also play a different role in war, as in Herodotus 8.65, where a disembodied and sourceless voice (φωνῆς) indicates what direction the battle will take, with its true meaning (the Iacchus cry) only heard and understood by the right listener.

Standing there, he shouted, and from afar Pallas Athena
cried out. Then an unspeakable uproar arose among the Trojans.
Like a remarkable voice, when a war-trumpet rings out
beneath life-destroying enemies surrounding a town,
like this was the ringing voice of the son of Aeacus.
And when they heard the brazen voice of the son of Aeacus,
the soul in every man was stirred up. Even the lovely-maned horses
turned their chariots back. For they presaged grief in their souls.
Three times above the trench divine Achilles shouted loudly,
three times the Trojans and their famous allies were stricken [with
    terror].
And then and there twelve of the best men perished
near their own chariots and spears.

The inhuman power of Achilles to annihilate is signified by the likeness of
Achilles' and Athena's conjoined voices to the blare of a *salpinx*, and this like-
ness is demonstrated by the effect of this *salpinx*-ringing shout on the Trojans.[8]
Great care is given to detailing the force and effects of Achilles' voice over the
course of this passage, which is soon supported by the sight of fire around
Achilles' head, and then three more shouts ringing out. When Achilles' voice
is called 'brazen', or literally 'of bronze', this small metaphor again equates
Achilles' quasi-divine voice with weaponry. The final result of this cry is that
twelve men (the 'best' of them, no less) simply drop dead on the spot.

To explain the frightening quality of this voice for an audience not accus-
tomed to fighting on the field with the sons of gods, the poet poses the analogy
of Achilles' voice not just to the sound of a *salpinx,* but specifically to when a
'*salpinx* rings out' (ἴαχε σάλπιγξ) as an enemy surrounds a town, thus clarifying
the connotation of this 'ringing out': it is a sound that signifies the onslaught
of sacking and savagery.[9] In the lives of Homer's audiences, the sound of the
salpinx played exactly this role—a signal of triumph or annihilation in war
that was so potent as to be associated with the divine. In similar form, the
clashing of the gods in *Iliad* 21.387f. is also likened to the sound of a *salpinx*
pealing out:

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8   Cf. Serghidou 2001, 66 on this passage.

9   Cf. Krentz 1991.

σὺν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ, βράχε δ᾿ εὐρεῖα χθών,
ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός.

They fell with a great clang and the wide earth rang out,
and the great sky trumpeted all around.

Here, trumpeting is a verbal activity performed by the sky itself, showing once again the divine and disembodied quality of its imagined production; there is no blowing, no cheeks, no lungs. The heavens 'trumpet' at this most cosmic moment of immortal conflict because trumpeting is the sound *par excellence* of war. The sound of the *salpinx* was thus particularly associated with Athena, as god of war.[10] Hence it follows that in Sophocles' *Ajax*, Odysseus likens Athena's voice to that of a 'bronze-mouthed bell of a Tyrrhenian trumpet' (16f. φώνημ' ... / χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς). Athena is at that moment in the process of crushing her enemy Ajax, whom she has driven mad; she represents power and vengeance. The suggestion that Athena's voice is awesomely destructive is fitting to the context and shows the power signified by the voice of the *salpinx*.

More normatively, the sound of the *salpinx* seems to have signaled the start of battle in ancient Greece and came to signify the experience of battle itself. Xenophon's *Anabasis* is filled with instances of the *salpinx* sounding, often in conjunction with a paean being sung or a war-cry being shouted.[11] In Xenophon's text, it is always the Greeks who blast the *salpinx* and, soon thereafter, inevitably triumph in battle. The *salpinx*, in this context, does not only signify war, but also a sort of invincibility that is fundamentally Greek and that leads to victory. In Aeschylus' *Persians* (386-97), the full effect of such sound is exhibited when a messenger reports on the launch of Greek ships in battle against much more numerous Persian forces ('the foreigners' here):

ἐπεί γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα
πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγὴς ἰδεῖν,
πρῶτον μὲν ἠχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ᾿ ἅμα
ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας

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10 Cf. Serghidou (2001), who sees Athena's preference for the *salpinx* over the *aulos* as being connected to her affiliations with both war and the *polis*. She comments also on the lines quoted from *Ajax*, noting that the sound of Athena persists although the goddess herself "remains invisible and distant" (67). In this sense too, the sound of the trumpet is once again imagined in terms that do not conjure up the physical presence of a trumpet player.

11 Cf. Xen. *An.* 3.4.4, 4.2.7, 5.2.14, 6.5.27 and 7.4.16.

ἠχώ, φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῆι
παιᾶν’ ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,
ἀλλ’ ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχωι θράσει.
σάλπιγξ δ’ ἀυτῆι πάντ’ ἐκεῖν’ ἐπέφλεγεν·
εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῆι
ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος.

And yet when day, with its white horses,
had spread brilliantly over all the land,
first then did a clamor peal out from the Greeks,
like a song it rang out auspiciously, and shrilly at once
shouting back from the island crags
came an echo, and then fear was present in all the foreigners,
deprived of their judgment. For not as if in flight
were the Greeks singing their holy paean then,
but hastening for battle with strong-hearted courage.
A trumpet screamed and inflamed everything,
and straightaway met with the dashing of oars,
as they struck the salty deep, as commanded.

The story of this battle begins with a ‘clamor sounding’ (ἠχῆι κέλαδος), which resembles a song (μολπηδὸν εὐφήμησεν) and echoes against the landscape (ἀντηλάλαξε … ἠχώ); next comes the paean and, as a grand sonic finale, the blast of a *salpinx* incites the Greeks to strike the water with their oars, presumably in unison, since the practical effect of the *salpinx* was to signal the start of battle across a wide distance. We are told that the Greek sailors themselves shout and sing their paean altogether; this cohesion, vocal and otherwise, is a factor of their victory over the multilingual Persian forces.[12]

But who plays the *salpinx*? No one, per se. The *salpinx* is the subject of its own verb of vocality (‘it screams’–ἀυτῆι). It is an independent force that has set the world on fire (ἐπέφλεγεν). In similar form, a *salpinx* is again the agent of its own sound in Bacch. 18: ‘why does the bronze-mouthed *salpinx* newly clang a warlike song?’ (3f. τί νέον ἔκλαγε χαλκοκώ-/δων σάλπιγξ πολεμηΐαν ἀοιδάν;). This sound from the trumpet is, again, unauthored; nobody and no body is imagined as playing it. As such, it is independently and divinely authoritative, with its sound figuratively inflaming the fleets, much as flames leap from the

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12   This is described as the ‘noise of the Persian tongue’ (*Pers.* 406 Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόθος).

head of Achilles when he shouts down the Trojans. The sound of the *salpinx* thus represents an expression, and perhaps an extension, of the power of the Greek fleet, without reference to the individual, human bodies that might be made vulnerable in such a battle scene if they were even imagined in the first place.

2 The *Salpinx* in Court

By a kind of sonic simile, the sound of the *salpinx* made its way from the battle-field into the establishment of cultural institutions in the polis, as we see in another tragedy of Aeschylus. In the *Eumenides*, Athena's trumpet peals out to silence men and give them a new, divine form of law, an aetiological echo of the use of the trumpet to signal the start of legal proceedings at the law-courts on the Areopagus.[13] Athena does not blow into the trumpet herself. Rather she has a herald blow into the trumpet for her (*Eu.* 566-73):

> κήρυσσε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργαθοῦ,
> †εἴτ' οὖν διάτορος† Τυρσηνικὴ
> σάλπιγξ βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη
> ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στρατῶι.
> πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
> σιγᾶν ἀρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμοὺς ἐμοὺς
> πόλιν τε πᾶσαν εἰς τὸν αἰανῆ χρόνον
> καὶ τούσδ', ὅπως ἂν εὖ καταγνωσθῆι δίκη.

> Be a herald, herald, and hold back the host,
> or let the piercing Tyrrhenian
> war-trumpet, filled with mortal breath,
> shine its voice at full pitch to the host.
> For while this council hall is being filled,
> it helps to be silent and to learn my laws
> for the entire city for time immemorial
> and for these people, so that justice may be decided well.

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13   Cf. the scholia on *Eu.* 566-9 and Egan 1979, 211. The *salpinx* was also used in athletic competitions and contests, funerals and cultic activities, on which see Nordquist 1996.

Athena commands the herald to quiet the crowd, and suggests he do this specifically by way of a *salpinx*.[14] She elaborates further, explaining that the *salpinx* will be 'filled with mortal breath' and will 'shine,' or 'be revealed' (φαινέτω). It is an instance of synaesthesia that is brief, but not unlike the metaphorical act of 'inflaming' everything performed by the *salpinx* in Aeschylus' *Persians.* This occurrence of synaesthesia also suggests the powerful conjoining of mortal life-force, literally 'mortal breath' (βροτείου πνεύματος), with the sheen of immortal effect. Also, the somewhat marked use of 'host' (στρατῷ) in this passage to designate the audience of Athenian citizens suggests a martial undertone to the proceedings. It is implied that the sound of a *salpinx* plays a role in literally importing the terror of war into a courtroom. There is also some likelihood that a blast of the trumpet customarily signaled the start of some procedures in the law courts.[15] Thus this sense of divinely enhanced vocality would have literally resonated through the body of the actor blowing the trumpet and would have metaphorically done so in the civic lives of the contemporary audience.

And there is still more to these lines. Rory Egan has argued that one particular verse of the passage, 'for while this council hall is being filled' is unusually aurally expressive in Greek by virtue of its drumming repetition of '*oo*-sounds,' unparalleled elsewhere in Greek verse:[16] πληρουμένου γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου (*Eu.* 580). Egan argues that these repeated *oo* sounds may themselves imitate the sound of a trumpet's blast, by "kinaesthetic imagery through which the actual movements of speech organs as they articulate sounds expressively mime, reflect, or correspond to the content or significance of the words uttered".[17] Thus, according to Egan's interpretation, Athena's own vocalization and the particular vocal acts her actor would have employed in embodying her might have aurally aligned her speech and the sound of the trumpet. This is a compelling account of how vocality may have carried mimetic power in

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14 Serghidou (2001, 68) notes that "the trumpet, unlike other musical instruments, is endowed with the specific skills of the herald". She sees this herald-like skill as allowing the trumpet, unlike the *aulos*, the authority to enter political space. She views the comparison as rooted in the *practice* of using the trumpet to send signals in the way of a herald, a use to which the *aulos* (for example) was never put. This derivation, again, relates most basically to the capability of the instrument to be inhumanly loud.

15 See n. 13.

16 Egan 1979.

17 Cf. Egan (1979, 207f.) and Porzig (1926, 85) on this passage. This is not the only place where Athena is clearly using soundplay to reinforce the content of her words. The line 'calm the bitter passion of the black breaker' (*Eu.* 832 κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος), spoken as she tries to soothe the Erinyes' anger later, is an instance of emphatic alliteration, presumably used here to create a calming effect.

performance. I would add that if Athena's words sound somewhat trumpet-like, it is a fleeting sonic presence that also by and large underlines her active displacement of the act of sound-creation from herself to another, perhaps in an echo of her mythic refusal to let her body be distorted (i.e. her cheeks get puffed) by playing the *aulos*. The herald, then, himself acts as a prosthetic attachment to make Athena's silencing sound out, but he himself must use a divinely empowered prosthesis to carry off this vocal feat.

3 The *Salpinx* in Elephants

The actual *salpinx* would have looked much like a lengthy extension of the mouth, as we see in the image of a soldier blowing into a *salpinx* on a vase from the late sixth- or early fifth-century.[18]
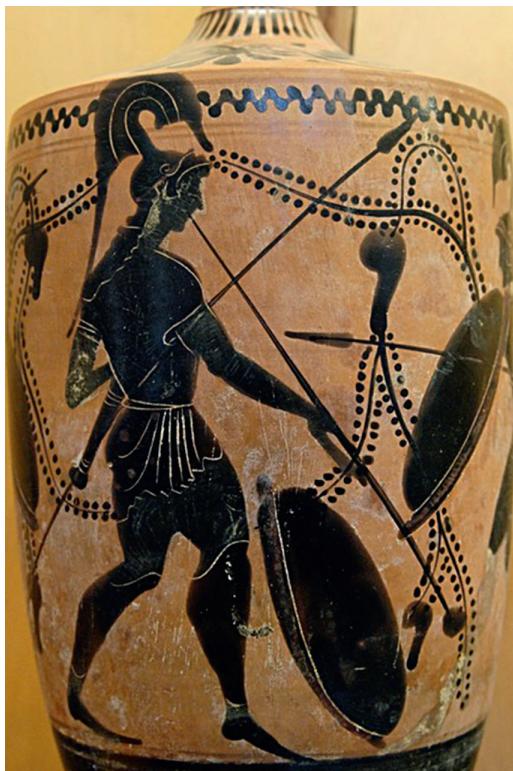
FIGURE 1
Attic black-figure lekythos, Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo

18   Warrior playing the *salpinx*. Attic black-figure lekythos, Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo.

It is useful to consider how the *salpinx* in the visual tradition is shown being played, as against the record of classical Greek literature where it is never described in a performance, but rather as producing an experience of sound and effect. The image allows us to see the instrument as an extension of the soldier, not much differentiated from his weaponry in its length and form. It is pointed to the earth, perhaps suggesting that the sound of the *salpinx* was meant to reverberate through the ground.

The image gives us a sense of the material manifestation of the instrument in physical or embodied terms that is not present in written stories of the *salpinx*. Within the sound of this literary silence, we can hear how transformative such an enhancement to the voice and conception of a human this instrument might have been: the man who makes the *salpinx* ring out becomes wholly the sound and force of divine destruction, without a body that allows for vulnerability or an identity that individuates him from the sonic effect that he generates. In adopting this invulnerability he imposes vulnerability on the bodies of his listeners, whether they are the soldiers who are compelled by its rhythms to attack in time or the foes who are understood to fall at its blast: in this aural picture, then, one body becomes dominant; many more are understood to submit.

Thus the *salpinx* is a tool used in imagining a hierarchy of sorts among men and may also play a role in a different imaginary ecology. In the *Historia Animalium*, Aristotle takes some time distinguishing between animals who have voice and those who do not. At the very end of this section, he makes a somewhat nuanced point about the voices of elephants (*HA* 536b20-3):

> ὁ δ' ἐλέφας φωνεῖ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ μυκτῆρος αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι πνευματῶδες ὥσπερ ὅταν ἄνθρωπος ἐκπνέῃ καὶ αἰάζῃ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ μυκτῆρος ὅμοιον σάλπιγγι τετραχυσμένῃ.

> When an elephant utters without its trunk but just with its mouth, it makes a wind-like sound, like when a man exhales or wails [cries *aiai*]. But with its trunk it is like a savage *salpinx*.[19]

Aristotle identifies two vocal modes of the elephant: when the elephant uses just its mouth without its trunk, it sounds like a human, but not like a speaking human. Rather the elephant aurally resembles a person exhaling and sighing, or crying *aiai*, a human in distress.

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19   Cf. also *Rh.* 1408a for a straight description of the sound of the *salpinx*.

In fact, one might note that this untrumpeting elephant sounds just like a tragic human, and particularly like Sophocles' tragic hero Ajax, mentioned above as the victim of the trumpeting Athena. We may note that Ajax is actually spelled and pronounced in Greek as *Aias*, which becomes significant when Ajax draws an aural analogy in the play (*Aj.* 430-3):

> αἰαῖ· τίς ἄν ποτ' ᾤεθ' ὧδ' ἐπώνυμον
> τοὐμὸν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;
> νῦν γὰρ πάρεστι καὶ δὶς αἰάζειν ἐμοί,
> καὶ τρίς.

> *aiai!* Who would have ever thought that the name
> I was named would be so fitting to my pain?
> For now it is right for me to cry *aiai* even twice,
> and a third time.

Thus, at a climax of his distress, Ajax self-consciously cries out *aiai* using this same verb—*aiazein*—that Aristotle would later use to describe the orality of the elephant.[20] Has the hero become an animal or the animal become a human? The answer is probably neither; rather, in the ecology of the classical imagination, there is a space of pain and vulnerability occupied by human and nonhuman animals alike.[21]

But this is only half of the elephant's vocal range. When the animal employs its trunk, its voice is altered to the 'savage' sound of the *salpinx*, a mechanism whose terrifying sounds Aristotle feels no need to explain. The use of the trunk, then, with all its sonic effect, transforms the vocality of the elephant as if the trunk were a prosthetic, but the transformation is inborn in the elephant; vocal duality is in fact a constitutive ingredient of elephantness. To explain the noise of elephants in terms of human artifice is to underscore the hard work performed by humans, and humans alone, to redraw the boundaries of the self, vocal and otherwise. For, as I have tried to demonstrate, the discourse of the

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20   Cf. Nooter (2012, 40f.) on these lines.

21   Tragedy features many examples of characters reduced to feeling—and sounding—like animals at instances of great pain: women often become and cry like birds (e.g. Cassandra in Aesch. *Ag.* 1140-5, on which cf. Nooter 2017, 46); Ajax apparently used to moan like a bull (*Aj.* 322), before the afflictions of the play laid him still lower and louder. Aristotle explores the potentially shared territory of human and nonhuman animal emotions at various places throughout his works, including *De anima* 427b6-14, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1102b29 and *Eudemian Ethics*, 1219b24-26, on which see Fortenbaugh (1971) for a helpful accounting; he takes up the question of human and nonhuman animal voices at *Politics* 1253a.

salpinx is one that adopts the notion of the disembodied invulnerability of the gods to enhance the imagined powers of certain men over others. That Aristotle should go still further to re-inscribe this retooling of human identity into his understanding of animals should come as no surprise. In so doing, he completes the transformative work of the *salpinx* in redrawing the boundaries between human bodies and the worlds they were imagined to inhabit.

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Sounds of War: What Brought the Walls of Jericho Down?

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Abstract

The destruction of Jericho's city walls (*Joshua* 6) is commonly attributed to the blowing of trumpets. After examining similar stories from ancient Greece, the article addresses various imprecisions of this notion. First, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin versions of the biblical text suggest several possible instruments, but eventually the ram horn (shofar) remains the only reasonable option. Secondly, regarding the actual cause of the walls' fall, textual analysis, again across languages, reveals a rather complex picture. Further insights are gained from the interpretations of both Jewish and early Christian commentators and contemporary scholarship. After considering a variety of possibilities, ranging from an earthquake to the 'magic' number seven, the solution proposed here is rooted in the soteriological hermeneutics of Sacred Scripture as a whole. In a way, *none* and *all* of the people's actions are relevant, because only faith and obedience to God's commandment elicit the divine ratification of salvation.

Keywords

war – Jericho – trumpet – shofar – *salpinx* – city walls – Bible – Patristics

1 Context[1]

When we think of sounds of war in ancient times, most of us probably first imagine the bellows of the attackers, the clashing of swords, the thundering hoofs of the cavalry, or the groaning of the wounded and dying. The soundscape of war is, for the most part, not a very musical activity. There are, of course, signals issued by musical instruments, and then there are war tunes, either sung or played, meant to stimulate, encourage, and organize fighters or to frighten those of the enemy.[2] Signals and songs are meaningfully directed towards those participants in battle who have ears to perceive them. It should astound us, therefore, to be confronted with an instance where these are employed against an inanimate object: a city wall. The fact that it actually might *not* astound us is due to the story's renown: not least through Elvis Presley's rendition of the Afro-American Spiritual *Joshua fit the battle of Jericho*,[3] where the text at some point says: "then the lamb, ram, sheephorns begin to blow, and the trumpet begin to sound, Joshua commanded the children to shout, and the walls come tumblin' down".[4] The lyricist apparently could not decide whether it was horns from a lamb, ram, or sheep, or trumpets, or all of them together, unless he is indulging in a pleonasm.

2 Precedents

But before addressing the (already much older) confusion regarding the instrument(s) involved, it is worth noting that the account of a responsiveness of walls or rocks to musical sound is not unique to this occurrence, but attested elsewhere in Greco-Roman texts. Euripides tells us (*Ph.* 822-4) that 'the city walls of Thebes rose to the *phorminx* and (its) tower from Amphion's lyre.'[5] This has been understood to be magical self-construction to music, as Pausanias

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1 This article is a revised version of a paper presented on January 5, 2016, for the MOISA panel "Sounds of War" at the 149th Annual Meeting of the Society of Classical Studies in Boston, MA. All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

2 See e.g. for Greece: West (1992, 29f.) or Krentz (1993), and for Rome: Wille (1967, 75-104).

3 The text was possibly first written out in 1865 by Jay Roberts; see http://users.telenet.be/davidneale/elvis/originals/list5.html (accessed December 19, 2017).

4 In the recording https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsEmF9urYDk (accessed 19th December 2017) from 2'13 to 2'42.

5 Ἁρμονίας δέ ποτ᾽ εἰς ὑμεναίους ἤλυθον οὐρανίδαι, φόρμιγγί τε τείχεα Θήβας τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας τε λύρας ὕπο πύργος ἀνέστα. Cf. ibid. 115f.

6.20.18 suggests by the verb μαγεῦσαι and by saying that the rocks for the building approached Amphion through his ἐπᾴδειν ('singing as an incantation'). Later, however, we read in the same author (9.5.7-8): 'he [Amphion] built the wall to (πρός) the music of his harp', which apparently means that the actual construction was accompanied by some background music. However, Pausanias does not omit that, according to a source, Amphion's songs 'drew even stones and beasts after him', so the association with music-magical rock movement is still accounted for.[6] When these legendary walls of Thebes are in danger of destruction, Statius (*Theb.* 10.873-82) has the attacking Capaneus mock the walls as *molli structa lyra,* but then calling the story about the *humiles Amphionis arces … faciles carmenque imbelle secuti* a lie (*mentita fabula*). As he begins tearing them down, he is killed by Jupiter for his act of defiance against the god.

Furthermore, according to Plutarch's account,[7] the razing of Athens's city walls in 404 BC took place πρὸς τόν αὐλόν, which might be understood as 'by means of', but probably here means instead again 'accompanied by the *aulos*', as Xenophon says more clearly ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων (under [the sound of] *aulos* girls).[8] Hence we have classical accounts of music either causing magical movements of rocks or at least accompanying the actual labor. Theodor Gaster (1969, 413 and 526, n. 25) references further folktales "of magic horns the blasts of which raze walls". With these examples in mind, does the collapse of Jericho's city walls qualify as another incident of musical magic, and how 'instrumental' should we really consider the musical element here?

3   The Biblical Text

Before answering this question, we need to take a closer look at the original story, which is found in the biblical book of *Joshua* (6:1-20). Jericho's gates are closed for fear of the Jews. Joshua transmits God's command to circle the city once every day for seven days, and so they march with the armed men in front,

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6   See as well Paus. 9.17.7 (rocks follow Amphion's song). Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 1.1.1) clearly references the story with music as the agent: τέχνῃ τῇ μουσικῇ.

7   Plut. *Lys.* 15.4 (441) μεταπεμψάμενος αὐλητρίδας… τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτε καὶ τὰς τριήρεις κατέφλεγε πρὸς τόν αὐλον, 'Lysander, having sent for *pipe girls* … tore down the walls and burned up the triremes *with the aulos*'.

8   Xen. *HG* 2.2.23 οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ γὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, 'those who had fled returned and began to tear down the walls *under pipe-girls* with much high spirit'.

then seven priests continuously blowing seven horns,[9] then the Ark of the Covenant,[10] and then the common people.[11] On the seventh day, they circle seven times, and upon the sound of the horns, the people burst out into war cries, whereupon the wall falls down (or 'flat' or 'into its place', as it is at times translated),[12] and the people storm the city.

Before entering into the analysis, we note that there is fairly wide consensus among scholars that we have no archaeological evidence for a destruction of Jericho at a time that could correspond to Israel's journey into Palestine, which casts serious doubt on the historicity of this passage.[13] Therefore, we limit ourselves here to a consideration of how the biblical author(s) envisioned the crumbling of Jericho's walls on the *literary* level and the role of music within it.

As we move on to the text itself, we face the difficulty that it does not come down to us in a single text. The oldest version is almost certainly the Hebrew, but contemporary scholarship assumes a plurality of several coexisting textual traditions, even in Hebrew. The Septuagint is the Greek translation (and interpretation) of just one of these versions and differs significantly from the Hebrew text that has come down to us as canonical and which, in itself, reveals

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9   In v. 9, there is also the rear guard blowing, usually ignored by the interpreters for not being relevant for the rest. It might be an inconsistency resolved in the Septuagint. Nelson (1997, 88f.) does not offer a convincing solution because he believes that the Greek text reflects an older version. I would argue the opposite, as the Greek seems to resolve some of the issues that the editorial patchwork of the Hebrew text presents. About the history of research regarding the composition, see Dozeman (2015, 316-23).

10 According to the Septuagint, the priests with horns march after the Ark: v. 9; about this see further Dozeman (2015, 312 *ad loc.*).

11 To be exact, in the Hebrew text, God only commands the circling of the armed men, the Ark, the seven priests carrying the horns, and what should happen on the last day; Joshua adds to the procession the common people, and the blowing during the first days just happens. According to the Septuagint, God only indicates the circling, horn sound, and the shouting, while the rest of the procession and the seven days are indicated by Joshua.

12 E.g. the King James Version and the New American Bible. Some Jewish commentators emphasize that the wall sank into the ground (as opposed to a simple toppling) because otherwise the heap of rubble would have continued being an obstacle for the conquerors; see Drucker/Scherman (1982, 178f., 187, and 197) and Miqraot-Gedolot (1980, 37).

13 For the various arguments see Boling/Wright (1982, 211-5); Curtis (1994, 49-59); Nelson (1997, 3-5); McConville/Williams (2010, 4-8). Wood (1990 and 2008), not referenced by any of the previous, presents new arguments for the destruction of a walled city (Jericho IV) around 1400 BC with striking similarity to the biblical description. Wood admits that the date is at variance with the common date for Israel's entry into Canaan, 200 years later. This is not the place to mediate between those who defend and those who reject the possibility of a real historical event.

a complex editorial history.[14] The Latin version of the Vulgate attempts to make the best sense of the Hebrew and Greek texts that Jerome had available at the turn of the fifth century AD. Nelson and Dozeman provide much useful material for a detailed textual comparison between the various languages (mainly the Hebrew and the Greek). We will draw from these analyses whatever concerns our immediate question.

4   The Instruments Involved

The Spiritual interpreted by Elvis reflects the common view that it was the instruments, which the priests were carrying and into which they were blowing, that made Jericho's walls crumble. The popular tradition envisions these as trumpets, and it is hard to say whether this is the cause or the consequence of the fact that almost all major English translations have it that way, at least for v. 20 when the actual breakdown of the walls takes place.[15] This is most probably due to the Greek, because it consistently uses the word σάλπιγξ and its corresponding verb throughout the passage (see Figure 1). The respective Latin *tuba* is only used in verses 5 and 20 (precisely when the critical seventh day is mentioned: first in the command, then in the execution). For the rest, the Latin says *bucina*, an instrument closer to a horn. Originally, the *bucina* was made of a shell, later of horn, wood, or metal (see Figure 2). Neither Greek nor Latin has the exact word for the instrument indicated in Hebrew, the shofar (a 'horn', with the plural '*shofarot*'), which is usually made from the horn of a ram or other animals of the Bovidae family (see Figure 3). It is capable of playing a variety of tones but no tunes, hence it is merely used for signals in war and rituals.[16]

Only once in this passage is a different Hebrew word used (v. 5): *qeren*, which also signifies 'horn' (and might well be its etymological origin) but, apart from

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14   See Dozeman (2015, 32-4 and 307-10). As an overarching difference, one can observe that the Hebrew text places more emphasis on ritual and religious details, whereas the Septuagint seems more interested in the narrative development.

15   I consulted the King James, the New American Bible, the Revised Standard, the English Standard, New American Standard, the Douay-Rheims, and the Jerusalem Bible. Standard German editions are more precise in using '*Horn*' (Einheitsübersetzung and Revidierte Elberfelder; Luther, Herder and Unrevidierte Elberfelder have '*Posaunen*' (trombones).

16   See Walton/Matthews/Chavalas (2000, 217f.). For more on the usage of the shofar in the Talmudic tradition, see Sachs (1940, 110-2).

FIGURE 1
*Salpinx*
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN
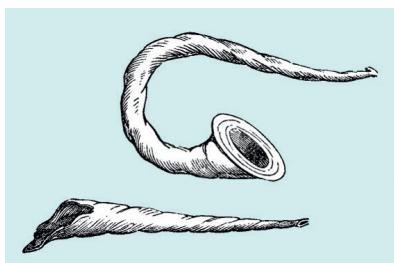
FIGURE 2
Buc(c)ina
GRAPHIC: PUBLIC DOMAIN

FIGURE 3   Shofar (kudu horn)
PHOTO: PRIVATE

music, the word has other meanings.[17] Meaningfully, its use coincides with the first of the two instances of the Latin *tuba,* indicating the moment when the people are supposed to shout. The Latin alone adds here: *cumque insonuerit vox tubae longior atque concisior et in auribus vestris increpuerit*—we are left wondering how the sound could be at the same time *longior* and *concisior*, but in any case more marked to give a signal to the people.[18] Despite the change of vocabulary, however, at no point are we to believe that two different kinds of instruments are being used. In addition, in vv. 4, 5, 6, 8, and 13, the word for 'horn' ('shofar' or '*qeren*' respectively) is complemented in Hebrew by the expression '*yobelim*' ('of ram horns', or '*yobel*' for the singular in v. 5), hence clearly indicating the material.[19] The Greek mostly ignores this expression,[20] while the Vulgate picks up on it in vv. 6 and 13, not translating it as the material but rather etymologically (*iobelorum*, v. 6; or with a circumlocution *quarum in iobeleis usus est*, v. 13), thus rendering it with the meaning "jubilee" as used throughout the book of *Leviticus.*

Figure 4 offers a synopsis with the vocabulary of the various instruments used in each language. As a conclusion, we can safely assume that the priests blew horns, specifically the shofar. This is significant because this instrument is mentioned earlier in the Pentateuch only in two contexts: at the theophany at Mount Sinai in the book of *Exodus* (19:16.19; 20:18), and in *Leviticus* (25:9) to introduce the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) and a 'Jubilee year', which seems to take its name from the material of this very horn, even if ironically the expression '*shofar/qeren ha-yobel*' is *not* used just here. For *Joshua*, the religious connection between the theophany, atonement, and jubilee in the Hebrew text is evident and well understood by Jerome in his Latin translation and by later Jewish commentators.[21]

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17   Such as the "horns of the altar", a recipient for oils, a symbol of strength, a hillside, etc., according to Holladay (1988). Our passage is the only instance in Scripture where this word clearly signifies a musical instrument.

18   In Hebrew, a long blast is mentioned for v. 5. Jewish commentators refer to *Ex.* 19:13 where this indicates the withdrawal of the *Shechinah* (God's presence); as such, the horn is still used by the Jews at the end of *Rosh Ha-Shanah* and on Yom Kippur, see *Lev.* 25:9.

19   Only in *Ex.* 19:13 do we find '*yobel*' as a stand-alone expression for the musical instrument (see previous note), a reference well observed by Jewish commentators to v. 5, cf. Miquarot-Gedolot (1980, 37). See on this also McConville/Williams (2010, 33) and Dozeman (2015, 308 and 331) who further highlights the connection between the jubilee and the number seven.

20   Perhaps because of the disinterest in references to ritual, see above n. 14, or the translator(s) understood this as a periphrasis ('horns of horns') and chose to simplify. Only in v. 8, the Greek has σάλπιγγες ἱεραί, but without allowing an association with 'jubilee'.

21   See Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175 and 177) and Dozeman (2015, 332).

Verse	Hebrew	Greek	Latin
4	shofarot (שׁוֹפְרוֹת 2x) (1st: of ram horns; 2nd: blow (תקע))	-	bucinae (2x) (2nd: & clangere)
5	qeren (קֶרֶן) of ram horns: blow (מֹשֵׁךְ); voice of shofar	σάλπιννξ (& verb)	tubae (insonere vox t. longior/concisior; increpare)
6	shofarot of ram horns	-	iobeleorum bucinae
8	shofarot of ram horns; shofarot (& blow)	σάλπιγγες ἱεραί; [σημαίνω]	bucinae (clangere)
9	shofarot (& blow) (2x)	[σαλπίζοντες]	bucinae (concrepare)
13	shofarot of ram horns; shofarot (& blow) (2x)	σάλπιγγες (2x, 2nd & verb)	bucinae quarum in iobeleis usus est (clangere); bucinae (personare)
16	shofarot (& blow)	[ἐσάλπισαν]	bucinae (clangere)
20	shofarot (& blow); voice of shofar;	σάλπιγγες (2x, 1st & verb)	tubae (clangere, vox/sonitus ; increpare)
Total	**shofar: 14; qeren: 1**	**salpinx: 6; verb: 5; signaling: 1**	**bucina: 8; tuba: 2**

FIGURE 4   Instruments mentioned in Joshua 6:1-20

5   Possible Causes for the Walls' Fall

But was it really the sound of these horns that made Jericho's city walls fall? Some exegetes such as Boling/Wright consider the possibility of an earthquake,[22] which would have no direct relation to anything else done by the Israelites. Against this, Blair (1970, 239) argues that

> [E]ven if a secondary cause of the event, such as an earthquake, could be given, it cannot explain its miraculous occurrence just at the critical moment of Israel's advance. (…) Certainly the narrative neither gives ground for, nor leaves room for, such anti-supernaturalist and minimizing views as that the marchers served to distract the attention of the watchers from Israelite sappers at work undermining the walls!

In connection with the sound, which in the biblical text clearly climaxes right before the walls' breakdown, one could think of the horns just hitting the walls' natural structural frequency, as at times has been the cause attributed to the Tacoma Narrows Bridge collapse of 1940.[23] However, it could not just have been a frequency hit by the horns, because they were already blown throughout

22   P. 208, by drawing a parallel with *Ps.* 114:3-7: the Jordan withdraws and mountains jump. The Jordan Rift Valley (or Dead Sea Fault) with its tectonic movements is prone to produce frequent earthquakes. The authors think that "a cultic explanation does not account for the chapter as connected narrative", thus suggesting that the description of the rituals is an irrelevant addition to the actual course of the story.

23   Others attribute the collapse of that bridge to an aeroelastic flutter through winds, see Bilah/Scanian (1990). Michtav M'Eliyahu, in Drucker/Scherman (1982, 178 *ad* v. 5),

six days without any effect. Only when on day seven at a particular moment the people break out in loud screaming, do the walls fall. The Greek versions might suggest that the shouting is the main factor, imitating the Hebrew *figura etymologica* with ἠλάλαξεν … ἀλαλαγμῷ μεγάλῳ for intensification and then adding ἰσχυρῷ, so a really loud and strong cry. The Jewish commentator Malbim suggests that the combination of both sounds made the walls sink.[24] Figure 5 gives a synopsis of the key moments of the conquests according to the three linguistic traditions available to us and highlights the description of instrumental and vocal sound. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the Hebrews knew anything about natural frequencies, and thus it is unlikely that the biblical author(s) thought of the sound as a natural cause of destruction. As we shall see, the Jewish interpretative tradition does indeed follow another path.

Then there is the circling for seven days and the seven times on the last day. Gaster compares the seven circuits, similar to the trumpets and other noises, with other known incidents that intend to either keep away (closing the circle) or expel (by noise) evil spirits.[25] It would be misleading to interpret this like Gaster to be a magical procedure. As testified throughout Scripture, magic is clearly outlawed[26] since the faith of the people of Israel rests on a God to whom they have a personal relationship and who cannot be coerced by magical means.

5.1   *Jewish Commentators*

Both Jewish[27] and Early Christian exegetes offer a variety of possible interpretations. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus recounts Jericho's fall in his *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (5.5.22-6.27) and mentions the circling and the horns (by

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mentions for Jericho the interpretation through reverberation of the shofar's high pitch, but rejects it as a denial of the miracle worked by God's will.

24   Cf. Drucker/Scherman (1982, 178). There is a discussion whether the people shouted first or the blast came first, as the Hebrew text is somewhat confused through additions (see ibid. 187).

25   Gaster 1969, 412. One could add many testimonies from Mesopotamia where the number seven is relevant, e.g. the Ugaritic *Epic of Kirta*. See also Hess (2009, 30) with reference to Egyptian sources, according to which "an attack may occur on the seventh day or a besieged town may fall on the seventh month".

26   See, for instance, *Ex.* 22:18; *Lev.* 19:26, 31; 20:6, 27; *Deut.* 18:10-11; *1Sam.* 28:9; *Is.* 8:19; 44:25; 57:3; *Ier.* 27:9; *Ez.* 22:28; *Micah* 5:12; *Nahum* 3:4; *Mal.* 3:5.

27   I draw principally from the Talmudic, Midrashic, and Rabbinic sources anthologized by Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175-87) and the Miqraot-Gedolot, translated and compiled by Oratz/Rosenberg/Shulman (1980, 36-41).

Joshua 6:15-17

וַיְהִ֣י ׀ בַּיּ֣וֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִ֗י וַיַּשְׁכִּ֙מוּ֙ כַּעֲל֣וֹת הַשַּׁ֔חַר וַיָּסֹ֧בּוּ אֶת־הָעִ֛יר כַּמִּשְׁפָּ֥ט הַזֶּ֖ה שֶׁ֣בַע פְּעָמִ֑ים רַ֚ק בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֔וּא סָבְב֥וּ אֶת־הָעִ֖יר שֶׁ֥בַע פְּעָמִֽים׃ [15]

καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀνέστησαν ὄρθρου καὶ περιήλθοσαν τὴν πόλιν ἑξάκις

die autem septimo diluculo consurgentes circumierunt urbem sicut dispositum erat septies

And on the seventh day, they rose {early to go up} at dawn and {they} went around the city as was their custom {seven times. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times.} [six times] (seven times).

[16] וַיְהִי֙ בַּפַּ֣עַם הַשְּׁבִיעִ֔ית תָּקְע֥וּ הַכֹּהֲנִ֖ים בַּשּׁוֹפָר֑וֹת וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁ֤עַ אֶל־הָעָם֙ הָרִ֔יעוּ כִּֽי־נָתַ֧ן יְהוָ֛ה לָכֶ֖ם אֶת־הָעִֽיר׃

καὶ τῇ περιόδῳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ **ἐσάλπισαν** οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ κεκράξατε παρέδωκεν γὰρ κύριος ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν

[16] cumque septimo circuitu **clangerent bucinis** sacerdotes dixit Iosue ad omnem Israhel vociferamini tradidit enim vobis Dominus civitatem

*And on the seventh {time} ({circuit}) the priests **blew the {horns} (sounded the trumpets)}.** And Joshua said to the {people} [sons of Israel] (all of Israel), "Shout, for {Yahweh} ({the Lord}) has given you the city."*

Joshua 6:20

וַיָּ֣רַע הָעָ֔ם וַֽיִּתְקְע֖וּ בַּשֹּׁפָר֑וֹת וַיְהִי֩ כִשְׁמֹ֨עַ הָעָ֜ם אֶת־ק֣וֹל הַשּׁוֹפָ֗ר וַיָּרִ֤יעוּ הָעָם֙ תְּרוּעָ֣ה גְדוֹלָ֔ה וַתִּפֹּ֤ל הַֽחוֹמָה֙ תַּחְתֶּ֔יהָ וַיַּ֤עַל הָעָם֙ הָעִ֔ירָה אִ֥ישׁ נֶגְדּ֖וֹ וַֽיִּלְכְּד֥וּ אֶת־הָעִֽיר׃ [20]

[20] καὶ **ἐσάλπισαν** ταῖς σάλπιγξιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ λαὸς τὴν φωνὴν τῶν σαλπίγγων **ἠλάλαξεν** πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα **ἀλαλαγμῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ** καὶ ἔπεσεν ἅπαν τὸ τεῖχος κύκλῳ καὶ ἀνέβη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν

[20] igitur omni **vociferante** populo et **clangentibus tubis** postquam in aures multitudinis **vox sonitusque** increpuit muri ilico corruerunt et ascendit unusquisque per locum qui contra se erat ceperuntque civitatem

And (so) {when all the people} (shouted) {raised a shout} (and) {the priests} [blew the horns] [trumpeted] (sounded) ((the trumpets)). And {when}} (after) {{the people heard the sound of the}} horn [trumpets] (the tone and the sound roared in the ears of the multitude). [all] the people began crying a great cry [cried out loudly at the same time in a great and strong cry]. And the {entire} wall fell {down} [in a circle] (immediately/on the spot). And [Then all] {{the people}} (everyone) went up {toward} [into] {{the city}} (the place that was opposite), {each straight ahead}. {{And they took the city}}.

<u>Legend:</u>

{…} = only in Hebrew; […] = only in Septuagint; (…) = only in Vulgate. English based on Dozeman 2015, 309-310, with adaptations.

FIGURE 5   Language synopsis of the key passages

means of the verb 'σαλπίζοντες/σαλπισάντων'),[28] but according to him, the walls collapse αὐτομάτως καὶ δίχα τοῦ πόνου σφετέρου, 'spontaneously and without effort of their own.' This description agrees with the Septuagint term αὐτόματα in v. 5.

Jewish commentators tend to read the passage more in a spiritual way by minimizing the military aspect and emphasizing its actual futility—given the six days of apparently pointless encircling and blowing. For them, the reoccurring number seven points at God's work of Creation.[29] The crying of the people, according to Harchev Davar, can be seen as a reference to prayer, which, so Michtav M'Eliyahu, should prove that they did not attribute their victory to themselves but as a work of God.[30] Jericho represents for the Jews 'a bastion of idolatry' and of 'spiritual defilement',[31] and so the use of shofars inspires an act of atonement from any form of impurity. The fall of the walls, which signify obstacles to inner repentance, indicates that all defilement now is uprooted.[32] According to Baal HaTurim, the same shofar that was causing the walls' destruction, had been taken from the ram offered instead of Isaac (*Gen.* 22:13) and had "orchestrated the transmission of the Torah on Mount Sinai (*Ex.* 19:13)", thus evoking the need to have faith and trust in God "to counter Jericho's idolatrous disbelief" (Drucker/Scherman 1982, 175).

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28   He adds an original meaning to the horn blowing on the last day, also changing the vocabulary: τῶν ἱερῶν κέρασιν ἐξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον (5.6.27): the music, yet still performed by the priests, is here a psychological stimulus for the fighters. The shouting of the people is not mentioned; just that after the seventh encircling, they stop and then the walls fall without any exterior force.

29   Abarbanel explains that "the Canaanites were to understand that the miraculous conquest of Jericho was a miracle on the order of the creation of the universe" (Drucker/ Scherman 1982, 177).

30   Cf. Drucker/Scherman (1982, 178).

31   Ahavas Yehonasan, in Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175), with *Hil. Teshuvah* 3:4 pointing out the reference to the practice on *Rosh Ha-Shana* (New Year's), as preparation for spiritual battle. See also Miqraot-Gedolot (1980, 37) with an additional reference by Tikun Tefillah to Yom Kippur.

32   Michtav M'Eliyahu, in Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175). The Greek expression of 'holy horns' (σάλπιγγες ἱεραί), if not meant to indicate ritual, might also have this meaning. Dozeman (2015, 306 and 311) cites L. Mazor who connects the passage to Num 10:8f. where it is stipulated that priests should be the ones blowing horns. This reference, however, is misleading because in *Numbers,* a specific kind of silver horns is mentioned, using a different word (*chatsotserah*), as precisely noted in the Miqraot-Gedolot (1980, 41): 'the blowing of the shofar during the siege of Jericho, instead of the silver trumpets prescribed in *Num.* x:8, 9, 10, draws a contrast between Moses the master and Joshua the disciple, showing that even Joshua, Moses' devoted minister and outstanding disciple, was incapable of replacing the master of prophets. The silver trumpets belonged only to Moses, and on the day of his passing, were hidden away, never to be used by his successors'.

Jewish commentator	Cause of fall	Reference
Flavius Iosephus	spontaneously (αὐτομάτως)	*Antiquitates Iudaicae* 5.5.22-6.27; cf. LXX *Josh* 6:5
Baal HaTurim	shofar	Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175)
Michtav M'Eliyahu	God's will; the Israelites' removal of every inner defilement	Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175, 178)
Isaac Abarbanel	miracle of God	Drucker/Scherman (1982, 177, 185)
Baal HaTurim	faith in God	Drucker/Scherman (1982, 175)
Meir Leibush Malbim	long shofar blast and people's shouting combined	Drucker/Scherman (1982, 178)
Alshich and Malbim	power of Almighty God	Miqraot-Gedolot (1980, 38)

FIGURE 6   Causes for the fall—Jewish sources

The table above presents a synopsis of the authors I have explicitly mentioned. As a summary, the commentaries tend to identify God as the originator of the 'miraculous' conquest, while the actions of the Israelites are understood either symbolically or ritually.[33]

5.2   *Christian Commentators*

Early Christian authors also take recourse to spiritual and allegorical readings of the passage but are much more confident in expressing views on what made Jericho's walls disintegrate, and these views show a greater variety. Similar to Jewish authors, several emphasize the absence of military force, such as Origen: 'how, therefore, is Jericho captured? The sword is not drawn against it; the battering ram is not arranged, nor is the spear hurled. The priestly trumpets [*tubae*] alone are employed, and by these the walls of Jericho are overthrown'.[34] Cyrill of Jerusalem attributes the fall to a shout or cry with no

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33   I am not entering deeper into the questions of the significance of the ritual elements in the "battle" description, as this is outside of the scope of my topic. John Franklin (2015, 67, n. 35; 172f.) contemplates the concept of a 'descriptive ritual' for other passages; our account could have formed part of a greater 'Ark narrative' (id., 169) with strong relevance for established cultic practices, the loss of which in later times could be an explanation for the shift of focus in the Septuagint.

34   *Hom. in librum Iesu Nave* 6.4, with a sustained parallelism between Joshua and Jesus Christ, especially regarding the triumph of Christ over the world at the end of times; see

mention of instruments.[35] Ambrose[36] and Maximus of Turin speak in terms similar to Origen, but accentuate stronger that they were priests who blew the trumpets. Maximus: 'the walls that had stood impervious to iron collapsed at the sacred voice of the trumpets [...]. But although no one touched those walls, still they were taken from without at the sound of the righteous while sinners dwelled within'. Maximus' catechetical conclusion is this: 'we believe that the priestly trumpets of that age were nothing other than the preaching of the priests of this age'.[37] He also mentions the number seven with reference to *Genesis* (2:2). Jerome simply speaks of Jericho's collapsing under the priestly trumpets.[38]

Gregory of Nazianzus at one point attributes the walls' collapse to the *salpinx*,[39] but elsewhere to the accumulation of the number seven (trumpets, priests, days, circuits).[40] Augustine seems to take the seven times circling with the ark as the cause as well and does not mention the horns at all, but whether the number seven or the circling or the ark was the decisive factor remains open. In another moment he says like Josephus that the walls "fell of their own accord" (*sponte*).[41] John Chrysostom remains ambiguous

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also ibid. 7.1f., where St. Paul thunders with the apocalyptic *tubae* through his letters, casting down 'the walls of Jericho and all the devices of idolatry and dogmas of philosophers, all the way to the foundations' (transl. Halton/White). The description, along with an interpretation of the people's shout (which Origen understands as one inciting battle), then encourages the joyful fight against the flesh. Further *In Ier. hom.* 28.11: 'the consummation of the world will not happen in stages, but suddenly. With this ought to be compared, I think, what was written in Joshua, when by a single sound of a trumpet the crumbling city of Jericho suddenly perished; and like this example Babylon also in the consummation of the age will fall and suddenly be obliterated' (transl. Franke 2005).

35   *Catechesis* 10.11 Ἀλαλαγμῷ μόνον... κατέπεσε τὰ τείχη τῆς Ἰεριχώ. Origen (*Hom. in librum Iesu Nave* 7.2) clarifies that this term does not mean a simple cry or shout but some sort of rallying cry of an army, to incite each other in battle. He apparently found this term to be an improper Greek translation and seems to have preferred a real word for 'shout', as in *Ps.* 89:16.

36   *De fide Christiana* 5.10: '[Joshua] did not lead forth his armed ranks into the fight, nor did he overthrow the ramparts of the enemy's walls, with battering rams or other engines of war, but with the sound of the seven trumpets of the priests. Thus the blare of the trumpet and the badge of the priest brought a cruel war to an end' (the translations of Ambrose and Maximus are taken from Franke 2005).

37   *Serm.* 93.2; 94.1.

38   *Ep.* 76.3 *Jericho corruat, sacerdotalium tubarum subversa clangoribus.*

39   *Or.* 6.17 τείχη σάλπιγξι κατεσείετο.

40   *Or.* 41.4.

41   *Ep.* 55.6.10.

as well when he affirms that neither weapons nor army nor fight were neces-
sary, just the blowing of the trumpet, and the walls would fall down on their
own.[42] Cassiodorus, on the other hand, sticks to the 'blare of trumpets' as the
clear cause, and concludes that "there is no doubt that musical sounds, yet at
the Lord's commanding or permitting, have performed great and very many
powerful things".[43] This adds an interesting nuance: God, in that instance, gave
or allowed music, the trumpets, to have this special power. Now, in that sense,
God could also have used an earthquake as a secondary cause or given that
power to any other of the elements mentioned (the shouting of the people, the
circling, etc.). This co-causality of an almost scholastic understanding could
be seen as a mediating position between those who see the human actions
as merely ornamental or ritual with God as the only real actor and those who
do not shy away from attributing the effect to the trumpets or other elements.
Figure 7 presents a synopsis of the Christian authors now covered.

To conclude the discussion on the Christian reception of the story in
Joshua, we should take note of a significant mention of Jericho's walls in the
New Testament which is not reflected by the Christian commentators that I
have consulted. In the *Letter to the Hebrews* (11:30f.), the fall of Jericho's walls is
brought up in a long list of examples from the Old Covenant where blessings
came about due to faith: 'by faith, the walls of Jericho fell, after the army had
marched around them for seven days. By faith, the prostitute Rahab, because
she welcomed the spies, was not killed with those who were disobedient'
(πίστει τὰ τείχη Ἰεριχὼ ἔπεσαν κυκλωθέντα ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας. πίστει Ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη
οὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, δεξαμένη τοὺς κατασκόπους μετ' εἰρήνης).[44] In
these words, I believe, we are pointed to the most appropriate interpretation
and solution of our inquiry.

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42   *Adv. Iud.* 6.2.7: ἐσαλπίσατε μόνον, καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτόματα κατελύετο. These expressions of 'on
     their own' could certainly also mean that, while the trumpets are understood as the cause,
     the actual destruction would still appear to have happened without any external physical
     motivation as usually expected.

43   *muros Iericho clangentibus tubis protinus corruisse, lectio divina testator; ut dubium non sit
     musicos sonos (iubente tamen ac permittente Domino) magnas plerumque fecisse virtutes.*
     The context (*Exp. in Ps.* 80.3) is praise of the power and beauty of music in general.

44   The Vulgate reads: *fide muri Hiericho ruerunt circuiti dierum septem. fide Rahab meretrix
     non periit cum incredulis, excipiens exploratores cum pace.* Note that the common mean-
     ing of the word ἀπειθέω is 'to disobey', even if the etymology suggests 'being unpersuaded,
     unbelieving', as the Vulgate has it.

Christian commentator	Life dates	Cause of fall	Reference
Origen of Alexandria	184/5-253/4	sound of priestly trumpets	*Hom. in Iesu Nave* 6.4; 7.1
Cyrill of Jerusalem	c. 313-386	shout	*Catechesis* 10.11
Gregory of Nazianzus	329-390	trumpets; seven (trumpets, priests, days, circuits)	*Or.* 6.17; 41.4
Ambrose of Milan	c. 340-397	the sound of seven trumpets of priests	*Fid. Christ.* 1. Prol. 3; 5.10.126
Jerome	c. 347-420	sound of priestly trumpets	*Ep.* 76.3
John Chrysostom	c. 354-407	blowing of trumpets, by themselves	*Adv. Iud.* 6.2.7
Augustine	354-430	circling seven times with ark; ultimately by themselves (*sponte*)	*C.D.* 10.17; *Ep.* 55.6.10
Paulinus of Nola	c. 354-431	sacred voice of trumpets	*Poem.* 16.129
Maximus of Turin	died between 408 and 465	seven days, at the priests' trumpets, and the sinfulness of those inside	*Serm.* 93.2; 94.1-2
Cassiodorus	c. 485-c. 585	blare of trumpets— power of music, allowed or given by God	*Exp. in Ps.* 80.3

FIGURE 7   Causes for the fall—Christian sources

6   Resolution Based on Biblical Hermeneutics

As figure 8 illustrates, modern commentators (of whose large number I have not even attempted to collect an approximately exhaustive list) offer again a wide range of explanations for the fall of Jericho's walls, each based on his or her own exegetical presuppositions. My own proposal is based on a hermeneutic principle that allows Scripture to possess, within its multiplicity of human authors, socio-cultural contexts, and linguistic traditions, the quality of divine inspiration—a claim shared by almost all faiths that consider these texts as sacred—and therefore accounts for an underlying theological unity. This view

Name(s)	Year, page(s)	Cause
Blair	1970, 239f.	the number seven, constant blowing, ark: supernatural power
Boling/Wright	1982, 208f.; 215	earthquake
Auld	1984, 38-42	God's gift, accompanied by a shout
Huffman	1986, 114f.	trust and obedience—thus God gave the victory
Curtis	1996, 76	miraculous
Nelson	1997, 12-5; 20; 91-3	spectacular divine intervention, the "Divine Warrior"; obedience
Coote	1998, 613	sevenfold circling
Howard	1998, 174	God (fighting Israel's battles)
Navarre Bible	2003, 47f.	faith and obedience
McConville/ Williams	2010, 30-7	obedience, because Yahweh decreed it
Dozeman	2015, 330-6	procession of the ark; the "Divine Warrior"

FIGURE 8   Causes for the fall—modern commentators (in chronological order)

will also elucidate why the search for the cause of the destruction of Jericho's walls is not a trivial pursuit.

Any scholarly introduction to the study of Sacred Scripture, in addition to the various types of criticism, will treat the different levels of meaning or sense (*sensus*) that may need to be applied to a particular passage.[45] For a narrative account in the *Tanach* or Old Testament, there is the story itself in the literal sense (with its historical or legendary content) and the intention of the biblical author and of later editors in view of the immediate audience. Then there may be a spiritual or allegorical meaning, which, taking the text as God speaking through the inspired human author to the believer, points at applications for the life of a given community or individual in later times (which includes the moral sense). Furthermore, in the Christian context, we find the typological meaning in the form of prophetic statements towards the coming or the person or the redemptive work of Jesus Christ who is seen as the ultimate fulfillment of the Covenant.

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45   In place of many possible works, see Brown (1997). The understanding of various senses was already well in place during the time of the Church Fathers. Origen's reading of our passage is a striking example of applying the typological sense.

For our passage and the question about the walls, as most modern commentators show with much detail, the perspective and intentionality of the narrative changes according to the identity of the author, editors, and translators and their respective target audiences. However, I suggest that there is a spiritual sense that is common to all different strata when we read the passage in the soteriological context of the whole of Scripture. If the main tragedy of humanity happened with Adam and Eve's fall from God through which sin came to the world through distrust and disobedience (Gen 3),[46] then the rest of salvation history deals with God trying to lead humanity back to friendship with him, which can only come about when human beings accept again their place as creatures, submitting to God's loving providence and governance. Scripture tells the history of the people of Israel as a continued 'pedagogy'. Jewish authors insist that the events at Jericho teach people that it is God alone who brings about salvation. However, before God acts, he wishes to see that people truly believe and trust him and will not attribute the victory to their own prowess. The people's obedience is tried by the instructions given to Joshua by God and then to the people by Joshua.[47] Both Jewish and Christian commentators see in the disobedience or sinfulness of Jericho's inhabitants the reason for its destruction. Dozeman (2015, 336) observes rightly that the biblical text—we should say, apart from the *Letter to the Hebrews*—does not explicitly indicate any moral depravity of the city, but this later interpretation was invited by the intuition of a contrast to the attitude of the people of Israel that was put to the test here. The unchallenged reception and meticulous execution of God's command along with the symbolic reaffirmation of the covenant of Mount Sinai through the use of the *shofarot* highlight clearly a pattern repeated in Scripture again and again: obedience to God's will leads to the experience of God's blessings.[48]

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46   This is not the place to discuss the historicity or other exegetical questions of the early chapters of the book of *Genesis*. In any case, this account has commonly been theologically understood in the way briefly presented here. The point is to indicate a hermeneutic key for our passage.

47   The reader will remember the rabbinic comments on the almost ridiculous scenario that the Jews must be presenting to the inhabitants of Jericho, which does not show any sign of preparation for serious warfare. McConville/Williams (2010, 33) lay out how the military and religious dimensions are conflated in the account.

48   Obedience in the context of Scripture is not to be understood as submission to an arbitrary authoritarianism; God's commands are rather envisioned as those of a loving father who wishes the best for his creatures, which will be achieved once they freely choose what he has ordained for their benefit (see, for instance, *Deut.* 4:5-8; *Ps.* 119; *Mk.* 2:27).

In the final analysis and taken by themselves, *none* of the elements: the marching order, the seven days of circling, the blowing of the horns, the priests, the presence of the ark, the seven times circling on the last day, and then the shouting of the people at the given moment (plus further indications regarding the conquest of the city and the restrictions on the booty)—none of these, in their intrinsic futility for real warfare, can reasonably be the cause for the demise of Jericho's walls. The ambiguity of the text regarding the primary cause is the best indicator for rejecting any particular one of these. At the same time, *all of them* taken together are the necessary condition, only upon the completion of which does God work his miraculous intervention to make the walls sink into their place. The final blowing of horns constitutes the crucial trigger for the whole people to manifest by clamor their adherence to and trust in their God and Savior. This interpretation sets the biblical passage apart from either the accidental or magical-mythological employment of music as found in other sources of antiquity. Most of the recent commentators agree that God, the 'Divine Warrior', is the real agent in the actual destruction,[49] but less so that his miraculous intervention came about in response to the obedience of the people. Regardless of whether this event has historical substance or not, it is meant to be understood as a lesson of faith and trust in God's power to overcome apparently insurmountable hindrances in the spiritual battle against disobedience as manifested in idolatry, sin, and any kind of evil.

7   Conclusion

The popular notion of trumpet blasts shattering Jericho's walls falls short not only by identifying the wrong instrument; it misses the deeper meaning of the account: that the blowing of horns becomes the medium through which people confirm their adherence and devotion to their divine protector, who then, in an act of liberating power, confirms his promise to the chosen people and removes the obstacles towards salvation.

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49   See e.g. Dozeman (2015, 325-36). Coote (1998, 613): "the narrative highlights how Yahweh's might almost effortless makes up for Israel's weakness". According to a Hittite text (*KUB* [*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*] VI.2.29-33), the deity Shaushga exercises divine justice by destroying wooden fortifications; cf. Hess (2009, 31).

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BRILL

Reading and Writing, Singing and Playing on Three Early Red-Figure Vases

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Abstract

The tools for reading and writing, the writing tablets and the papyrus scroll, were inherited by Greece from the East together with the Phoenician alphabet. The oldest papyrus scroll and writing tablets with Greek text were found in the tomb of a musician in Daphne dated to 430 BC. After 700 BC writing tablets were ubiquitous in Greece. However, black figure vases do not depict them. The first writing tablet appears on a red figure *kylix* of the Euergides Painter from Vulci (520). The first papyrus scrolls appear, together with writing tablets and the lyre, on a *kylix* from Ferrara (c. 480-70). Papyrus scrolls, writing tablets, the lyre and *aulos* appear together on the famous Berlin *kylix* of Douris from Caere (480).

Keywords

early red-figure vases – writing tablet – papyrus scroll – oral teaching of music – teaching of poetry and prose by reading and writing

The tools for reading and writing, the writing tablets and the papyrus scroll, were inherited by Greece from the East together with the Phoenician alphabet. They came by trade to the West, as demonstrated by the tablet found between the cargo of a wrecked freighter of the late Bronze epoch, discovered at Ulu Burun.[1] The first evidence for a writing tablet with a Greek message, which belongs to the orientalizing period, is the 'Uriah-Letter' in the *Iliad* (book 6), which was handed to Bellerophon before his journey to Lycia by Proitos, king

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1   Payton 1991. Photo: Ulu burun diptychon nr. 1., at http://uluburundiptychon.

FIGURE 1   Athens, Piraeus Museum PM 7452, polyptychon of Daphne

of Argos: a folded tablet which contained the message to the king of Lycia, Iobates, to kill Bellerophon.[2] The oldest papyrus scroll and writing tablets with Greek text were found in the tomb of a musician in Daphne dated to 430 BC.[3] Figure 1 shows one leaf of a polyptychon of Daphne, where the remains of wax bearing letters are preserved. Figures 2 and 3 show remains of the papyrus scroll from Daphne, where some syllables are decipherable. The few legible words on the Daphne polyptychon and papyrus scroll point to Ionic dialect and poetry. A complete collection of writing tablets and papyrus scrolls can be extracted from Beck's *Album of Greek Education* (1975).[4] Chronological lists of writing tablets (18 examples) and papyrus scrolls (7 examples) and their contexts can be found in Pöhlmann (1988[a] and 1988[b]).[5]

After 700 BC, writing tablets were were ubiquitous in Greece. However, black figure vases depict them only exceptionally.[6] Papyrus scrolls never appear on black figure vases. The first writing tablet appears on a red figure *kylix* of the Euergides Painter from Vulci (520);[7] the first papyrus scrolls appear, together with writing tablets and the lyre, on a *kylix* from Ferrara (c. 480-70);[8] papyrus

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2   See Pöhlmann 2015.

3   Pöhlmann/West 2012; photo in Alexopoulou/Kaminari 2013, plt. II 6a/b, 8a/b, 9a/b; West 2013.

4   See also Pöhlmann 1988(a), 27f. nn. 70-3; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 16f. nn. 70-3.

5   See Pöhlmann 1988(a), 22f. nn. 70-3; Pöhlmann 1988(b) 17f. nn. 70-3.

6   First example: BAPD 2881; Brussels A 1013, 525-475 BC.

7   Munich 2607, J 1168, ARV^2 104.4. See figure 5.

8   Ferrara T 45 C, inv.nr. 19108. See figures 6-8.

FIGURE 2   Athens, Piraeus Museum PM 8523, papyrus scroll of Daphne

FIGURE 3   Athens, Piraeus Museum PM 8520, papyrus scroll of Daphne: with the permission
              of the Piraeus Museum
              PHOTO ATHENA ALEXOPOULOU

scrolls, writing tablets, the lyre and *aulos* appear together on the famous Berlin *kylix* of Douris from Caere (480).[9] Different ways of teaching music and poetry are the subject of these *kylikes*.[10]

Musical instruction dispensed for centuries with writing tablets and papyrus scrolls. The familiar oral teaching can still be seen on the Munich *hydria* (see figure 4) of Phintias (510 BC)[11] from Vulci: on the right side, the bearded teacher Smikythos, seated on an elegant chair, has already played to his pupils and is now tuning his lyre. Tlepolemos, a young adult (also seated), looks to

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9   Berlin 2285, ARV^2 431f. See figures 9-10.
10   See Beck 1975; Robb 1994; Neils/Oakley 2003; Beaumont 2012; Bloomer 2015.
11   Munich 2421, ARV^2 23.7.

his teacher, while he plays his lyre using the plectron. Between them stands
Euthymides, a young boy, wrapped tightly in a long mantle (perhaps the vase
painter with this name[12]). Looking at his teacher, he is singing to the accom-
paniment of the lyre. On the left side stands Demetrios, a bearded old man
with a walking stick, who attentively inspects the lesson. Demetrios is the
paidagōgos, a slave whose duty it is to escort the young boys to school and to
prevent abuse. This figure shall reappear in later school scenes together with
other typical elements such as the tightly wrapped youth.

With the *kylikes* of Euergides (520 BC), the Ferrara *kylix* (480-70 BC) and
the *kylix* of Douris (Berlin 2285, 480 BC), we leave the arena of pure orality.
Euergides integrates the writing tablet into the context of the symposium.[13]
The inside picture of his crater (Munich 2607) shows a nude, wreathed reveller
with a drinking cup in his left hand, who is scooping with his right hand from
a crater. The reveller is framed by the usual heading: Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. The
picture B on the outside shows three nude revellers. The one on the left side,
holding an *oinochoē* in his right hand and a *skyphos* in his left one, is running
behind a reveller in the middle, whose head is lost. On the right side, a reveller,
whose head is missing, is turned to the advancing pair, holding a *skyphos* in his
right hand. Again we find the usual heading: Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΝΑΙΧΙ.

Much better preserved is picture A (see figure 5) on the outside. In the mid-
dle an adult, seated on a stone bench holding a walking stick in his right hand,
is looking attentively at a boy on the left side. This boy, also seated on a stone
bench, and extending his hands in rhetorical gesture towards the adult, holds
a staff in his left hand. On the right side, a boy seated on a folding chair atten-
tively reads an open diptychon. Again we read the heading Ο ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ
ΝΑΙΧΙ ("the beautiful boy, certainly").

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12   See Neils 2017.

13   See Pöhlmann 1988(a), 17f. figs. 1-3; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 24 figs. 1-3, with references.

The decoding of this scene must begin with the staff in the hand of the boy on the left side. During the symposium, it was customary to pass a myrtle staff (μυρρίνη) from guest to guest. Anybody who kept the staff was obliged to sing one of the traditional *scholia*, which were collected in song books.[14] Atheneaus has preserved eight Attic *scholia* from such a book.[15] More examples of *scholia* were collected by Diehl.[16] In Aristophanes' *Clouds* (1353-76) there is a report of a symposium: after the meal, old Strepsiades invites his son Pheidippides to sing something from Simonides accompanied by the lyre.[17] After his son's refusal, Strepsiades asks him to take the myrtle staff (1364, τὴν μυρρίνην λαβόντα) and to sing something from Aeschylus, but Pheidippides rejects Aeschylus as old fashioned and instead sings part of Euripides' *Aiolos* (*Nub.* 1371f.).

Of course the Euergides Painter does not depict the symposium itself—the stone benches indicate an outside scene, but the staff in the left hand of the boy on the left side, who is extending his hands in rhetorical gesture towards the adult in the middle, signifies that the boy has had his turn singing a piece learned by heart. Therefore, the Euergides Painter depicts the tuition of the boy with the aim of preparing him for the symposium. The boy at the right side fits the scene well: his turn to sing shall be the next, and therefore he repeats his pensum attentively in the open diptychon.

Tuition of adolescents in order to prepare them for the customs of the symposium is attested in comic inversion by Aristophanes in the *Wasps* (1174-1250): before going to a symposium, the old boorish Philocleon is instructed by his fashionable son Bdelycleon about proper behaviour. Bdelycleon questions his father whether he knew entertaining stories to tell the guests (1174-1207), shows him the elegant way of stretching out on a couch (1208-13), and recommends that he express admiration for the equipment of the house (1214f.). After the meal proper and its accompaniments (1216-8), the *aulos*-player announces the part of the symposium devoted to *scholia* (1219-50): Bdelycleon impersonates some of the fictitious guests, Cleon,[18] Theoros[19] and Aeschines,[20] singing the beginning of a *scholium* and inviting Philocleon to continue, which leads to a series of gross insults, as in the first example: Cleon begins a *scholium* about the local hero Harmodios by οὐδεὶς πώποτ᾽ ἀνὴρ ἔγεντ᾽ Ἀθήναις ("there

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14 See Pöhlmann 1988(a), 18 n. 77 with references.

15 See Ath. 694c-695a = B *Scholia Anonyma* 1-8 Diehl = 884-91 Page.

16 B *Scholia Anonyma* 9-36 Diehl = 892-919 Page.

17 Simonides, 22 Diehl = 507 Page.

18 Cleon sings Diehl 27; Philocleon answers first *ex tempore*, and after that by Alcaeus 31 Diehl = 129 Lobel-Page.

19 Theodoros sings Diehl 14 = Praxilla, 749 Page; Philocleon answers by two unknown Aeolic lines.

20 Aischines sings Diehl 28; Philocleon answers *ex tempore*.

was never a man in Athens"), and Philocleon continues οὐχ οὕτω γε πανοῦργος <οὐδέ> κλέπτης ("who was not such a swindler and a thief"). We may confidently surmise that tuition of adolescents for the symposium in real life had better results.

The Ferrara 19108 *kylix* was found in the tomb T 45C VP in the Valle Pega Necropolis in Spina, together with other ceramics, the most recent dating back to 475 BC and 470-60 BC.[21] The *kylix* itself is dated by Fede Berti to 480-70.[22] The rigid composition of the ensembles, the stiff posture of the persons and the schematic outline of the muscles might suggest an earlier date.[23] The Ferrara Painter, adopting the wrapped boy of Phintias three times on the *kylix*, supplies these figures with papyrus scrolls and adds two adults with lyres and two with writing tablets.

Best preserved (see figure 6) is the outside picture B, showing from left to right two adults on clumsy wooden seats and at the right edge a tightly wrapped boy on an elegant chair, attentively reading a papyrus scroll, the use of which evidently was not yet familiar to the painter: the rolls which the boy has in his hands are about 30 cm high, while the band between them, which should be the same size, is only about 10 cm high. The text should appear between the rolls, but the painter distributes scattered letters on the outside of the rolls and between them: A, Γ, E and Z are recognizable. Near the rim behind the boy appears a crosslike instrument, which is frequently found in musical contexts on vases and has so far remained unexplained by scholars.[24] Before the boy's head appears a tied up diptychon seen from the side.

The adult in the middle holds up a lyre with his right hand, while he hides his left hand in his garment. The muscles of his denuded chest are outlined schematically by some strokes, and his coiffure is limited by drops of colour, which indicate curls. The other figures have these features as well. The adult at the left edge keeps an open diptychon in his lap and lifts a stilus with his right hand. Both adults are looking to the right. Evidently the man with the lyre in the middle is the teacher, for he supervises his pupils, who write in a diptychon or read a papyrus scroll.

On the inside picture (see figure 7), we find another unbearded adolescent on a clumsy wooden chair. He is damping the chords of his lyre with his left hand and plucking with the right hand with the help of a plectron. The heading

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21   See Pöhlmann 1988(a), 29 n. 81; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 19, n. 81.

22   See Berti/Restani 1988, 89.

23   Communication by Heide Frohning, Würzburg; see Pöhlmann 1988(a), 26 n. 82; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 19 n. 82.

24   Wegner 1949, 226.

FIGURE 6   Ferrara, *Kylix*, Spina T 45 C, inv. Nr. 19108, outside picture B

FIGURE 7   Ferrara, *Kylix*, Spina T 45 C, inv. Nr. 19108, inside picture

FIGURE 8   Ferrara, *Kylix*, Spina T 45 C, inv. Nr. 19108, outside picture A: with the
permission of MIBACT-Polo Museale dell'Emilia Romagna

ΚΑΛΟΣ is above his head, while at his left side are a bag for dies, the φορμίσκος and the crosslike instrument mentioned above.

On the right edge of the outside picture A (see figure 8), the painter has placed an exact copy of his adult with the diptychon from the outside picture B. As this figure keeps the orientation of his model, the adult on his clumsy wooden seat is looking outside of the picture and cannot communicate with the two tightly wrapped boys turned together in the middle and on the left edge. They are seated on stone benches pointing to an outside scene. Between them is a chest, the depository for papyrus scrolls, which is familiar in music scenes, where it sometimes appears open.[25] The boys are silently reading papyrus scrolls, which share their puzzling appearance with their model on outside picture B. These are early examples of the 'silent reader' to which

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25   Crater Würzburg 521, Wegner 1949, pl. 20; *hydria* Palermo 385, 350 BC., Beck 1975, 58, n. 28, pl. 74, fig. 367.

H.R. Immerwahr has brought attention.[26] Near the rim there are two tied up diptycha and the aforementioned enigmatic crosslike instrument.

The inside picture of the famous *kylix* of Douris (Berlin 2285, 480 BC) is signed (ΔΟΡΙΣ ΕΓΡΑΦΣΕΝ) and shows a nude youth taking off his sandals, thus adding gymnastics to the topics of education. Aside from this, Douris does not introduce important new elements, but, by virtue of his composition of scenes and his understanding of the use of writing tablets and papyrus scrolls in education, he is far superior to the Ferrara Painter. It is not by chance that six of seventeen examples of diptycha on vases of the first quarter of the 5th c. BC were painted by Douris.[27] To the six examples of papyrus scrolls on vases in the first quarter of the 5th c. BC, Douris contributed only one.[28]

The outside picture A of Berlin 2285 (see figure 9) has the familiar heading Ι ΠΟΔΑΜΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. Near the rim appear in central symmetry, from left to right, a cup, a lyre, a basket, a pair of *auloi* in a bag, a lyre and a cup. Five people on elegant chairs pointing to an inside scene form two groups: on the left side a bearded adult, the teacher, holds a lyre, his left hand still in the strings; his right hand with the plectum rests idle in his lap. Evidently the teacher has just finished playing. He turns himself to a boy, who is repeating the piece to which he has listened on his own lyre. This is oral teaching, which we have already described on the Phintias *hydria* (see above). In the middle is seated another bearded teacher reading a papyrus scroll, the rolls of which he holds in his hands. The unrolled part of papyrus, which contains text, has the same dimension as the rolls, and contains the beginning of a hymn, which reads ΜΟΙΣΑ ΜΟΙ /ΑΦΙ ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΝ/ΕΥΡΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΜΑΙ/ ΑΕΙΝΔΕΝ.[29] Beazley compares the lines with other inscribed rolls on vases.[30] It is evident that there is a gap after the beginning:[31] with Μοῖσά μοι ('Muse, inspire me') the poet might ask the Muse for help, and with ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον εὔροον ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν ('I begin to sing about the Scamander and its beautiful floods'), he announces his subject. It is puzzling that Douris writes the lines parallel to the rolls, and not, as usual in papyri, in columns perpendicular to the scroll. Perhaps he wanted to facilitate the reading for the viewer of his *kylix*. Next stand the tightly wrapped boy,

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26 Immerwahr 1964, 21 and 37; Immerwahr 1973, 143. See also Pöhlmann 1988(a), 22f.; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 15.

27 Basel BS 465; Berlin 2285; München 2646; Tübingen E 20; Paris Cab. Med. 675; Florenz 528; see Pöhlmann 1988(a), 28 n. 73; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 16 n. 73.

28 See Pöhlmann 1988(a), 28 n. 72; Pöhlmann 1988(b), 16 n. 72.

29 Stesichorus, fr. 29 Diehl (erroneously attributed) = *adesp.* 938e Page.

30 Beazley 1948; see also Sider 2010.

31 See Stesichorus, fr. 26 Diehl; Beazley 1948, 337f.

FIGURE 9   Berlin, *Kylix* of Douris, F 2285, outside picture A

turned to the teacher, and the παιδαγωγός watching him, both known from the *hydria* of Phintias. Evidently, the boy is reciting his pensum from memory, which the teacher assigns from a textbook. This is the new way of teaching with the help of reading and writing, which reappears on the outside image B.

The outside picture B (see figure 10) has the familiar heading I ΠΟΔΑΜΑΣ [ΚΑ] ΛΟΣ. Near the rim, from left to right, appear a tied up papyrus scroll, together with a tied up diptychon, a lyre and the aforementioned enigmatic crosslike instrument. Again we find two pairs of teacher and pupil, but here the teachers are unbearded adolescents. At the left side, the teacher is playing his *auloi*. A tightly wrapped boy turned towards him seems to sing. This is another example of oral teaching. In this case, the pupil knows a song by heart, and he sings it to the accompaniment of the *auloi*. In the middle, the teacher is seated with the stilus in his right hand reading an open diptychon. Perhaps he is correcting a text written by the tightly wrapped boy who stands turned to him. In any case, this is another example of teaching by reading and writing. At the right corner, we meet the παιδαγωγός again. Unlike the pendant on inside picture A, Douris oriented his body towards the outside, but turned his head to the centre towards the boy.

All in all, we see that Douris, when using elements of his precursors, avoided monotony with skilled variations in detail. His pictures of musical instruments and the tools for reading and writing attest familiarity with their use. On the Berlin *kylix*, he succeeded in portraying four groups of teacher and pupil without repetitions, thus shaping four eloquent scenes, each one telling its own

FIGURE 10   Berlin, *Kylix* of Douris, F 2285, outside picture B: with the permission of
BKP-Bildagentur

story. Taking these scenes together, we have a snapshot of a definite moment in the history of Greek culture and education: in 490 BC, most of the citizens of Athens were familiar with the Greek alphabet,[32] which was used for teaching pupils to read and write poetry and prose. On the other hand, the writing and reading of music with the help of Greek musical notation, which was used by professional musicians since the end of the 6th c. BC,[33] remained unknown for centuries to the general public. Therefore musical education remained oral. It was Douris who depicted the coexistence of the different methods used to teach music on the one hand (oral instruction) and poetry and prose on the other (writing) on his famous school vase of 490 BC, which, with the inclusion of gymnastics on the inside picture, presents the complete system of education in Athens in the fifth century BC.

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32   Pöhlmann 1990.

33   Hagel 2010, 1-52, 368-71, 390-3, 442-52.

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Abbreviations

ARV² Beazley, J.D. (1968), *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*, 2nd edition, Oxford: OUP.

BAPD Beazley Archive Pottery Database

On Kinesias' Musicopoetic *Paranomia*

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Abstract

In this article I focus on the New Poet Kinesias and on the ways in which he was depicted, ridiculed, and criticized in our sources. I contextualize his depiction as a poetic and musical corrupter and as a thin and disabled individual within the criticism of the New Music in late fifth- and early fourth-century philosophical works, namely those by Plato and Aristotle, to argue that he was considered the poet who embodied the musicopoetic *paranomia* and the lack of *orthotēs* in the New Music. I also bring into my analysis a fragment from a speech of Lysias against Kinesias, where I focus on the accusations against the poet, in order to show that both his political actions (as described in the fragment and in Athenaeus who transmits the passage) and his experimentations with the chorus and with poetic performances were interpreted as a threat to the coherence and stability of the community.

Keywords

Comic parodies and anecdotes turned Kinesias into an icon for the disreputable new dithyrambic poetry. Pherecrates commemorates him as one of the corrupters of traditional and well-ordered *mousikē* alongside Melanippides, Phrynis, and Timotheus (*PCG* 155), Aristophanes portrays him as the poet whose light poetic compositions forced him to wander on the *aithēr* for inspiration (*Av.* 1373-1409), and Strattis devotes an entire comedy to him, where he is depicted as an impious individual, who manipulated the chorus in his compositions, mishandling and thus spoiling harmonious choral performances (*PCG* 14-22). Kinesias' experimentations with the choral mode of the dithyramb,

his kinetic innovations, and exaggerated dance choreography are complemented in several sources, comic and otherwise, by observations of his slim physique and numerous bodily disabilities, as well as by comments concerning his impious and disrespectful personality.[1]

In this article I discuss how the representation of Kinesias' persona embodies the manner in which our sources interpreted the New Music as a cultural phenomenon and how it reflects both the aesthetic criticism and the ethical judgement against the late fifth- and early fourth-century style of *mousikē*, as that is detected primarily in philosophical writings such as those of Plato and Aristotle. My argument will take into account the features that according to Plato's ideal vision of lyric should characterize choral and poetic performances, and will connect the fourth-century *paranomia* in poetry and music, as Plato calls it, and its lack of correctness (*orthotēs*) with the debased character and the vulgarity of the public that enjoyed the New Music. This I shall do in order to argue that on grounds other than strictly musical and technical our sources perceived the New Music also as an immoral affair and depicted its representative poets in similar colours too. With regard to Kinesias such an interpretation takes into account his disregard of poetic and musical laws that is exhibited in his extensive use of modulations (*kampai*) and the lack of moral uprightness that is metaphorically manifested in his poor health and thin physique. Kinesias was apparently also involved in legal proceedings and we possess a fragment from Lysias that comprehensively reflects the comic parody of Kinesias and the reading of the New Music as immoral in both Plato and Aristotle (Lysias frr. 195 and 196 Carey). When considered within the context of the criticism of the New Music by contemporary intellectuals, Kinesias' disregard for musical laws is connected with his disobedience to the city's laws, both of which, I argue, should be interpreted as features characteristic of an immoral ethos and as threats to the formation and stability of the community.

1 Musicopoetic *Paranomia* and Immoral Affairs

The new musical style that was practised by poets and professional musicians in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC was associated by its conservative critics with sexual permissiveness, moral degeneration, and educational negligence, and comedy is one of the main sources that depicts the New Music as a sign of moral decline. We read in Eupolis' *Heilotes* that singing the songs

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1 E.g. Plato Comicus 200 *PCG*; Athen. 12.551d = Strattis 7 *PCG*; Harpocr. x 59 Keaney = Lysias fr.196 Carey. On Kinesias in comedy, Kugelmeier 1996, 208-48.

of Stesichorus, Alcman, and Simonides is old-fashioned; Gnesippus is the trendy poet, and his songs are the favourite repertoire of adulterers (*PCG* 148). In Aristophanes' *Clouds* and *Daitales* Pheidippides and the debased son reject the classical lyric poets Simonides, Alcaeus, and Anacreon because they were not nobly educated and consequently they could not judge poetry correctly (Ar. *Nu.* 1353-73, *Daitales PCG* 235). Additionally, the debate in the *Clouds' agōn* focuses on the differences between old and current education: Better Word depicts Phrynis' innovative *kampai* that strain old harmonies as an example of the musical innovation at the time (*Nu.* 961-72), and a speaker in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* (*PCG* 156) laments the lapse from the standards of the past, reflecting the picture of general decadence in the late fifth century BC that Better Word paints in *Clouds*.

In Plato's *Laws* the Athenian lawgiver mirrors comedy's opposition between then (τότε) and now (τὰ νῦν), and creates a chronological and cultural division in the history and evolution of lyric poetry (*Lg.* 700a-701a3). He describes a past that was composed of clearly defined religious song-types and genres—hymns, paeans, dithyrambs, and kitharodic *nomoi*—and where certain tunes (μέλους εἶδος) were strictly prescribed to certain types of songs (οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο καταχρῆσθαι). The description continues and the lawgiver refers implicitly to the educational role that lyric performances had back then (περὶ παίδευσιν) and to the orderly state of their audiences (τότε): the spectators listened to the songs in silence and behaved in accordance with the enforced law. In contrast to this law-abiding past the musical and poetic present of Athens (τὰ νῦν) is characterized by *paranomia* in *mousikē* (παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν) in all four features to which the Athenian drew attention in his narration of the days of old: types of songs and lyric genres, musical tunes and musical instruments, the ultimate purpose of lyric performances, and the character of the audience. Nowadays, we read, poets mix song-types and poetic genres that are not meant to be confused (κεραννύντες), musical tunes are intermingled in a single perfor-mance, whilst poets compose and performers perform with the ultimate aim of pleasing a very noisy audience (κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ... θέατρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο).

As scholars have recently emphasized, both choral song and dance in the *Laws'* Magnesia become the instruments of political integration and socialization.[2] As a result, aesthetic pleasure in the *Laws* is a feature of vir-tue and of ethical formation, and the choral lyric genres are reconstructed in

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2   The most substantial treatment of these issues is in Prauscello 2011, 2013, and in more detail
    2014.

Magnesia as educational tools.[3] Magnesia's re-appropriation of contemporary musical and poetic practices reinvents ancient Greek performance culture by attaching to its poetic genres and its choral performances the ethical principles that appear to be of great significance throughout the Platonic corpus.[4] For Plato the main aim of poetic performances is the moral improvement of individuals. For this precise reason Magnesia's *mousikē* is strictly regulated by law and the city's *khoreia* is accordingly philosophically anchored.[5] In the Athenian's description and criticism of the New Music civic education is identified with a musically well-ordered and generically pure lyric poetry which the lawgiver projects onto the institutions of aristocratic society and onto elite ideology.[6] On the contrary, according to Plato, the current poetic environment with the debased rule of the spectator, the progressive violation of the laws of *mousikē*, the prevalence of music and poetry that would be performed for pleasure, and the undisciplined audience are perceived as signs of the rise of democracy and consequently of the political liberty the demos had acquired.[7] Plato purposefully heightens the unruly character of the mob in the lawgiver's account by coining the term *theatrokratia* in order to criticize the political power the demos gradually gained and also to denounce the popular appeal that new and innovative musical and poetic productions had at his time.[8]

In his disapproval of professional musicians in the *Politics* Aristotle similarly criticizes the coarse character of the spectator, which he also connects in causal terms with the kind of *mousikē* which aims to please a crowd that lacks good aesthetic and musical judgement.

> ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε ὀργάνων καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀποδοκιμάζομεν τὴν τεχνικὴν παιδείαν (τεχνικὴν δὲ τίθεμεν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὁ πράττων οὐ τῆς αὑτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται χάριν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, καὶ

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3 Folch 2015, 11.

4 On the ethical character of poetic genres in the *Laws*, Folch 2015, Part II.

5 Cf. *Lg.* 655c3-d3 on the unacceptable claim that correct *mousikē* is that which pleases the soul.

6 Folch 2015, 2, 7 and 11.

7 The above passage from the *Laws* builds on *R.* 424c5-6 where political changes are perceived as a consequence of alterations in *mousikē*, which is presented as a view of Damon, on which see Wallace 2004, 261-3 and 2015, 64-75. With reference to the changing character of the audience as depicted in the above extract Wallace (1997) has demonstrated that according to a number of sources the Athenian theatre audience was as vocal and physically active in the fifth century as it was in the fourth century BC.

8 The ideological undertones in the musical criticism against the New Music, as expressed in our sources, have been the subject of discussion in a number of studies, e.g. Csapo 2004 and 2011; Wilson 2003a and 2004; Csapo/Wilson 2009, on Timotheus.

ταύτης φορτικῆς, διόπερ οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἀλλὰ θητικωτέραν· καὶ βαναύσους δὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι· πονηρὸς γὰρ ὁ σκοπὸς πρὸς ὃν ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικήν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις) …

For we reject training in some instruments and in professional perfor-
mances (and we count participation in competitions as professional;
for the performer does not take part in it for his own improvement,
but for his hearers' pleasure, and that would be a vulgar pleasure, owing
to which we do not consider performing to be proper for free men, but
somewhat menial; and indeed performers do become vulgar, since the
object at which they aim is a low one; for the spectator who is vulgar
usually influences the poetry and the music, so that it imparts to the
artists who practise it with a view to suit the spectator a special kind of
personality, and also of a certain bodily frame because of the performed
movements)[9] …

                    ARIST. *Pol.* 1341b8-18

Aristotle echoes the lawgiver's evaluative judgement in the *Laws*. He goes,
however, one step further than Plato. He paints in the above extract a picture
where the spectators influence not only the music of the performers but also
their personalities and their bodily movements. The acoustic and visual image
that is constructed in Aristotle's *Politics* mirrors Plato's account of *khoreia* in
the *Laws*. *Khoreia* in Magnesia is depicted as a kind of mimesis where song
and choral dance are turned into representations of character. The beauty and
overall character of a choral performance is defined by the nature and ethos
of the object of mimesis, and that ethos is transmitted at the performance by
the performers/imitators (*Lg.* 655d5-656a1).[10] Notably, the nature, character,
and ethical disposition of both the performers and the audience should cor-
respond to the representations in performance, and only the spectators who
accord with the choral and musical representations would find the perfor-
mances pleasurable (cf. *Lg.* 655d5-e3, 658e6-659a1).[11] It is therefore expected

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9   Translations of all passages are taken from the relevant volume of the *Loeb Classical
        Library* and are at points altered.

10   On *Lg.* 655d5-656a1 and choral mimesis, see Folch 2015, 91-3. Prauscello (2013, 259)
        explains this kind of mimesis as "active at both a representational (mimesis qua repre-
        sentation) and performative level (mimesis qua enactment)".

11   Choral and musical representations should also correspond correctly to their models, i.e.
        their objects of mimesis, and this is understood as one of the criteria of musical judge-
        ment (*Lg.* 669a7-b2), on which Barker 2010 and Rocconi 2012, 121-7.

that the ethically correct *mousikē* ideally performed in Magnesia will please the best of men, those who have been adequately and well educated, and also those who excel in virtue and education.[12] In such an exemplary performative scenario the ethos of the spectators would accord with the ethical character of the performance itself. As a result, the ideal *mousikē* constructed in Plato's Magnesia gains a moral and ethical dimension that goes beyond the perfect alignment of performers, performances, and spectators. "For Plato aesthetic pleasure depends on *ethical* disposition", as Marcus Folch concludes, and artistic judgement is unequivocally connected in the *Laws* with aesthetic pleasure and eventually with the ethical character of both the individuals and the artistic product.[13]

   In the specific extract from the *Politics* Aristotle identifies the vulgarity of the audience with the character of the pleasure that will be experienced at a musical and poetic performance. He uses the epithet φορτικός to characterize a certain group of spectators,[14] and through the same epithet he also implicitly describes the performance itself and the audience's experience at the performance. The association between performance and audience is in retrospect suggestive of an interpretation whereby the baseness of the audience in Aristotle and the undisciplined character of the noisy mob in Plato's *Laws* become features that also demonstrate lack of morality and lack of good aesthetic judgement, too. In this view the term φορτικός in the extract from the *Politics* also colours ethically and aesthetically the quest of the professional performers for poetic innovation and technical proficiency, and subsequently applies to their poetic and musical compositions. They, in any case, aim to please a vulgar audience to which they have to adjust their compositions and performances.[15] Plato implicitly moves his criticism of the New Music to the realm of ethics and touches on questions of morality. As we read in the *Laws*, the ethos of both the composer and the performer is expected to be reflected in the poetic product and that ethos is subsequently transferred to the audience at the performance. For Aristotle the vulgar spectators are bad judges of *mousikē*, as they are unaware of the kind of *mousikē* that would have

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12   On being trained in musical 'goodness', see Rocconi 2012, 117-21.

13   Folch 2015, 93f., quotation from 93; see also Rocconi (2012, 121-7) on the three criteria of musical judgement that concern the correct knowledge of the model of imitation, and both the technical correctness and ethical dimension of the representation in performance.

14   Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1342a18-22 on the two groups of spectators: the free and educated (ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος καὶ πεπαιδευμένος) and the vulgar, which is composed of labourers (ὁ δὲ φορτικός).

15   Cf. [Plut.] *De Mus.* 1135d1-4 where Crexus, Philoxenus, Timotheus and other composers of their time are characterized as lovers of innovation as well as more vulgar than poets of the previous generation (φορτικώτεροι καὶ φιλόκαινοι γεγόνασι).

positive effects on them and that deserves serious attention. As a consequence they take pleasure in the wrong kind of *mousikē*, and Aristotle explicitly connects the deviant nature of such people to the melodic and harmonic irregularities a performance should exhibit in order to be pleasurable for them (*Pol.* 1342a22-27).[16] Given how the vulgar spectator could influence *mousikē*, according to both Plato and Aristotle, the spectator's lack of good ethos and lack of good musical taste and judgement are traits to which the performed poetry and by extension the composers should also correspond.

The "unethical" character of the New Music and of its representatives is encapsulated in the metaphorical interpretation of the word καμπή ('twist', 'bend').[17] If we trust the scholion to ἀσματοκάμπας in Ar. *Nu.* 333c, *kampē* designated the articulations of strophic compositions. Within the context of the New Music in particular it denoted the modulation between musical modes, which produced as a consequence astrophic *anabolai* in the dithyramb, and was also connected with the new techniques that were introduced within the context of the *aulos* revolution.[18] The comedians, Plato, and Aristotle all use the imagery of twisting and bending to describe the aesthetics and effects of the decadent new musical style in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC. Nancy Worman analyses the correlation between mimesis, metaphor, and style, and discusses in detail how literary imagery embraces larger ideas about self-presentation.[19] As she demonstrates, literary depictions touch upon issues of style and character type. The twists of the New Music (*kampai*) are often contrasted in our sources with the straighter and more austere old style of *mousikē*. Within an interpretative framework where aesthetics and ethics are closely connected, as Worman argues, the language of twisting and bending, especially in Aristophanes, potentially denotes lack of moral uprightness, too, even if exclusively in a metaphorical sense.[20]

In his very account of the changing character of *mousikē* in the *Laws* the Athenian lawgiver himself criticizes the lack of correctness (ὀρθότης) in the New Music.

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16   On the moral pleasure the men educated in performance can experience from music and how it is connected with musical ethos in the *Politics*, see Jones 2012, 167-71.

17   E.g. Pherecrates 155.9, 15, 28 *PCG*; Ar. *Nu.* 333 ἀσματοκάμπτας, *Nu.* 969f κάμψειεν τινα καμπήν ... τάς κατὰ Φρῦνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους; Plut. *Mor.* 569c where Timotheus is called ἰωνοκάμπτας.

18   On *kampai* and the changes they brought upon the dithyramb, see Franklin 2013. On the *aulos*-revolution in Athens, Wilson 1999; Martin 2003; Wallace 2003; Wilson 2004.

19   Worman 2002 and 2015.

20   Worman 2015, 24.

μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ᾽ ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ᾽ ἡντινοῦν μουσική, ἡδονῇ δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο ὀρθότατα. τοιαῦτα δὴ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέγοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν·

And thus, through their folly, they unwittingly bore false witness against music, as a thing without any standard of correctness, of which the best criterion is the pleasure of the auditor, be he a good man or a bad. By compositions of such a character, set to similar words, they bred in the populace a spirit of lawlessness in regard to music, and the effrontery of supposing themselves capable of passing judgment on it.

> Pl. *Lg.* 700e1-6

Orthotēs ('correctness') in this passage from the *Laws* refers to poetic and musical *paranomia* as portrayed in performance, that is, to the breaking of musical and poetic laws. Metaphorically, the lack of *orthotēs* might additionally point to the extensive use of *kampai* in musical and poetic compositions that would have created poems full of 'bends', or modulations. The lawgiver, however, associates this lack of *orthotēs* or the bending of *mousikē* both with the lack of aiming for the audience's improvement and with the lack of the appropriate moral stance and aesthetic judgement that would enable anyone to judge a musical performance properly. We read in *Lg.* 658e5-659a4 how Magnesia's *mousikē* would not please everyone but rather exclusively the highly educated men who excel in virtue and are also in a position to act as judges of *mousikē* (τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει). In the course of his instructions the Athenian lawgiver distances the ideal *mousikē*, its audience, and its judges from the uneducated crowd that attempts to corrupt the poets and their compositions.

οὔτε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεῖ τόν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν κρίνειν μανθάνοντα, καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας ...

For the true judge should not take his verdicts from the dictation of the audience, nor yield weakly to the uproar of the crowd or his own lack of education ...

> *Lg.* 659a4-b4

I suggest that the lawful and ethically appropriate *mousikē* that would be accommodated in Magnesia is turned into the exact opposite of the New Music

as described in *Lg.* 700a7-701b3, where it becomes clear that the noisy mob controls poets, poems, and poetic performances. The mob's shouts are, nevertheless, characterized as ἄμουσοι (*Lg.* 700c2), a characterization that points to the want of taste and education.[21] Besides, Eupolis cites the public's lack of good aesthetic judgement as the reason for silencing performances of Pindar (κατασεσιγασμένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας *PCG* 398 = Ath. 1.2c-3a). To judge from the mob's criticism in both Plato and Aristotle Eupolis' ἀφιλοκαλία might also be interpreted as the expected characteristic of a vulgar audience and of a body of citizens that would silence the proper *melē* of the past in favour of songs of the late classical lyric poets. Thus, these new songs had to be ethically and morally inappropriate, if they were to satisfy the mob. The bending of musical and poetic laws in compositions of the New Music is extended therefore to the spheres of aesthetics and ethics, and modulation (*kampē*), the primary feature of the new poetic style, is portrayed in our sources not only as a feature of the New Music but also as an ethical characteristic of those practicing that kind of poetry.[22]

2   A Threat Called Kinesias

In Plato's *Gorgias* Kinesias becomes the main representative of the kind of poetry that would be produced and performed exclusively for popular approval.

> ΣΩ. Τί δὲ ἡ τῶν χορῶν διδασκαλία καὶ ἡ τῶν διθυράμβων ποίησις; οὐ τοιαύτη τίς σοι καταφαίνεται; ἢ ἡγῇ τι φροντίζειν Κινησίαν τὸν Μέλητος, ὅπως ἐρεῖ τι τοιοῦτον ὅθεν ἂν οἱ ἀκούοντες βελτίους γίγνοιντο, ἢ ὅτι μέλλει χαριεῖσθαι τῷ ὄχλῳ τῶν θεατῶν;
>   ΚΑΛ. Δῆλον δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, Κινησίου γε πέρι.

> Soc: And what of choral productions and dithyrambic compositions? Are they not manifestly, in your view, of the same kind? Or do you suppose Kinesias, son of Meles, cares a jot about trying to say things of a sort that might be improving to his audience, or only what is likely to gratify the crowd of spectators?
>   Call: Clearly the latter is the case, Socrates, with Kinesias.
>   *Grg.* 501e8-502a3

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21   On *amousia*, see Halliwell 2012.

22   Cf. Rocconi 2016 on how Plato's instructions in the *Laws* might have influenced contemporary and later musical criticism.

In this passage Socrates focuses on the effect choral productions and dithyrambic performances might have on the audience, and distinguishes between the moral improvement of the audience and the quest for pleasure. Kinesias' dithyrambs, it seems, do not aim to improve the audience morally; rather they aim to gratify the audience. This detail about authorial intention suggests that Kinesias' poems belong within the *Laws*' contaminated and lawless *mousikē*. Kinesias is thus depicted as the exemplary poet, one might say, of the changing character of *mousikē* in late fifth and early fourth century BC, as his poetry embodies one of the main features that according to Plato contributed to its *paranomia*—composing for the gratification of the audience. Another important feature of Plato's musical and poetic *paranomia* is the mixture of different song-types in poetic compositions, and the association of Kinesias with the mixture of genres the Athenian criticizes in Plato's *Laws* is hinted at in the well-known fragment from Pherecrates' *Cheiron* (PCG 155), where Mousike herself complains about the torture she suffered at the hands of the New Musicians.

In terms that can be metaphorically translated as sexual Mousike informs Dikaiosyne about the suffering she experienced, and describes the musical innovations of Melanippides, Kinesias, Phrynis, Timotheus, and plausibly also Philoxenus. In the course of her description Mousike offers details of the structural alterations all these poets made to the *kithara* in order to achieve the desired acoustic effects in their performances: Melanippides loosened her and made her slacker by increasing her strings to twelve; Kinesias proliferated turns and twists; Phrynis shoved in a *strobilon*, bended, and twisted her; Timotheus, having stripped her, altered her in a dishonourable manner; Philoxenus also stuffed her with modulations.[23] The metaphors Mousike uses equate musical changes with the loosening of morals, and her narrative progresses climactically, pairing abuses and perpetrators, and using language that mirrors the intensity of her torture: the bland synonyms ἀπολώλεχε (v. 10) and διέφθαρεν (v. 15) for the consequences of the actions of Kinesias and Phrynis are replaced by the sexually colourful verbs κατορώρυχεν (v. 19) and διακέκναικ' αἴσχιστα (v. 20) for Timotheus' indecent acts.[24] Though Timotheus is described as Mousike's most kinky lover, Kinesias is the perpetrator who is singled out in the fragment.

> Κινησίας δέ <μ'> ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,
> ἐξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς

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23   On this fragment, see Borthwick 1968; Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999; Olson 2007, 182-6; Franklin 2013; LeVen 2014, 73-86 where she also discusses other sources on the New Music.

24   Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999, 150.

ἀπολώλεχ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως   10
τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,
ἀριστέρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιά.
ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὅμως ἐμοί.

Then Cinesias, that damned Atticus,[25]
by inserting off-key modulations in his stanzas,
so completely destroyed me that in the creation of his dithyrambs
his right seems to be his left,
like objects in a mirror.
But even he was an acceptable man for me.

                    PHERECRATES' *Cheiron PCG* 155.8-13

Kinesias is the sole poet in the fragment for whom an adjective is used—he is κατάρατος, 'goddamned'—turning the invective against him into an *ad hominem* attack.[26] He is also the sole poet who is accused and in retrospect remembered for the dance alterations he introduced in his poetic performances.[27] We read in the fragment that Melanippides, Phrynis, Timotheus, and Philoxenus interfered with the *kithara*-shaped body of Mousike and played around with her strings and harmonies. Their alterations are therefore presented as technical, instrumental, and purely musical. Kinesias, however, experimented not with the *kithara* but with the dithyramb itself, as Mousike recalls. The off-key modulations that he introduced in his dithyrambic compositions had presumably as a consequence the abandonment of the regular triadic structure in his strophic stanzas, which must have affected the dithyrambic dance. When his compositions are performed the chorus does not move as is expected, and one gets the impression that they are watching the dithyrambic performance through its reflection in a mirror. Everything is done the other way around.

  Borthwick argues that the inclusion of mirrors and shields in the fragment (if the word ἀσπίς is translated literally) and the reference to the moves from right to left must allude to the pyrrhic dance.[28] The *pyrrhichē* was danced by men armed with shields, and it involved fast movements that resembled flames: the dancers would gesture with their arms and would rhythmically

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25   The *LCL* translation is 'Athenian'.
26   Apparently a common epithet in comedy: e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 949, *Pax* 1076, *Lys.* 530, *Th.* 1049; Pherecrates *PCG* 70.3. Cf. Dobrov/Urios-Aparisi 1999, 148f.
27   On Kinesias' musical innovations as presented in the fragment, see Franklin 2013, 229f.
28   Borthwick 1968, 63-6.

flex their bodies up and down and from left to right, in the course of which the shields would move in different directions (Ar. *Nu.* 988f.; Pl. *Lg.* 815a; Xen. *An.* 6.1.12).[29] Nonetheless, Mousike protests in Pherecrates' fragment that the confusion between right and left happened to the dithyramb, whose formal structure of dance must have changed. Her complaint suggests therefore that the two types of dance—the *pyrrhichē* and the dithyramb—blended together into a single performance, which was meant to be exclusively dithyrambic. Borthwick connects Pherecrates' fragment with the scene in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (vv. 145-53) where Dionysus refers to Kinesias' *pyrrhichē* as an encounter one might have in the Underworld, and suggests that Mousike hints in fact at the mixture of genres that is criticized by the Athenian lawgiver in Plato's *Laws* as an unacceptable feature of the New Music.[30] If we follow Borthwick's train of thought and detect in the accusations against Kinesias in Pherecrates' fragment a reference to the mixture of features of the dithyramb and of the *pyrrhichē*, he—Kinesias—is turned into the poet whose compositions would correspond precisely to the unruly combination of genres and song-types the Athenian criticizes. Understandably therefore he is singled out in Plato's *Gorgias*.

A fragment of Lysias couples Kinesias' disregard for the laws of *mousikē* with his disobedience to the city's laws. According to Athenaeus, who preserves the fragment, Kinesias decided to leave his poetic art aside and to become a *sykophantēs*. We additionally gather from the extant passage that Lysias defended someone called Phanias against whom Kinesias brought a *graphē paranomōn*. Athenaeus' introduction and the fragment itself provide substantial information about Kinesias' actions and behaviour in the Athenian community, and it is worth quoting the passage in its entirety.[31]

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29   On the *pyrrhichē* see the book-length study of Ceccarelli 1998; also Ceccarelli 2004.

30   The connection of Kinesias with the *pyrrhichē* in the passage from the *Frogs* has been interpreted variously in scholarship. Lawler (1950, 84f.) follows the *scholia* (Σ *Ra.*153b), and suggests that the reference might be an allusion to tense movements in his choreography for dithyrambic choruses; Dover (1993, ad loc) suggests that due to his feeble physique Kinesias could not have performed a *pyrrhichē*, but he presumably composed the music for one; Ceccarelli (1998, 43 and 221) concludes that the *pyrrhichē* of Kinesias could in fact have been dithyrambs executed with choreography appropriated for a war-dance; also Bliquez 2008, 320f. The grammarian Diomedes associates the *pyrrhichē* with Kinesias by drawing on Aristophanes' passage in the *Frogs* and by playing upon the association of Kinesias' name with movement (Diom. *Art. Gramm.* III, *GrLat* I 475, 9-25 Keil); cf. *Suda* s.v. πυρρίχην (π 3225 Adler).

31   Also Lysias fr.196 Carey πρὸς Κινησίαν βʹ = Harpocr. κ 59 Keaney which summarizes the content of Lysias' two speeches against Kinesias.

ἄλλοι δ' αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, πολλάκις εἰρήκασι φιλύρινον Κινησίαν διὰ τὸ φιλύρας τοῦ ξύλου λαμβάνοντα σανίδα συμπεριζώννυσθαι, ἵνα μὴ κάμπτηται διά τε τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν ἰσχνότητα. ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὁ Κινησίας νοσώδης καὶ δεινὸς τἆλλα Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φανίου παρανόμων ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ εἴρηκεν, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀφέμενον τῆς τέχνης συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πλουτεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ ποιητής ἐστι καὶ οὐχ ἕτερος, σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὢν σημαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι κωμῳδούμενον ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτον δείκνυσθαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ·

> θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴ βαρέως φέρετε ὅτι Κινησίας ἐστιν ὁ τοῖς νόμοις βοηθός, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε ἀσεβέστατον ἁπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνων, ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, τῶν κωμῳδοδιδασκάλων <δ'> ἀκούετε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν· οὐ μετὰ τούτου ποτὲ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Μυσταλίδης καὶ Λυσίθεος συνεστιῶντο, μίαν ἡμέραν ταξάμενοι τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἀντὶ δὲ νουμηνιαστῶν κακοδαιμονιστὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὔνομα θέμενοι, πρέπον μὲν ταῖς αὐτῶν τύχαις· οὐ μὴν ὡς τοῦτο διαπραττόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὡς καταγελῶντες τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων. ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιούτους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πλείστων γιγνωσκόμενον οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως διέθεσαν ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ τεθνάναι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς λίαν ὑβριστικῶς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα διακειμένοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολλύουσι, μείζους καὶ χαλεπωτέρας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς νόσους ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις προσβάλλοντες. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ καμεῖν νομίμως κοινὸν ἡμῖν ἅπασίν ἐστι, τὸ δ' οὕτως ἔχοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον διατελεῖν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντα μὴ δύνασθαι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον τούτοις μόνοις προσήκει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅπερ οὗτος ἐξημαρτηκόσιν.

περὶ μὲν οὖν Κινησίου ταῦτα ὁ ῥήτωρ εἴρηκεν.

But other authors, such as Aristophanes, routinely refer to Kinesias as *philurinos*, because he took a plank of lime-tree (*philura*) wood and wrapped it around himself, to keep him from bending, since he was so tall and skinny. That Kinesias was unhealthy and a generally conniving character is asserted by the orator Lysias in his speech entitled *On Behalf of Phanias on a Charge of Proposing an Illegal Motion*, where he says that Kinesias abandoned his profession in favour of bringing false charges against people and growing rich that way. As for whether this is the poet rather than someone else, he is manifestly shown to be the same person by the fact that he is openly mocked in comedy for being an atheist and is shown to be such in this speech. The orator puts it as follows:

I am astonished if you are not profoundly upset that the man supposedly defending the laws is Cinesias, since you are all aware that he is the most impious, lawless person alive. Isn't this the individual who committed the sort of crimes against the gods that other people are embarrassed even to mention, but that you hear about from the comic poets every year? Didn't Apollophanes, Mystallides, and Lysitheus used to have feasts with him at one point? And didn't they set aside an unlucky day of the month for this, and refer to themselves not as New-Mooners, but as *Kakodaimonistai*—an appropriate name for how matters turned out for them! This wasn't what they planned to accomplish, of course; their goal was to make fun of the gods and your laws. But the fact is that they all died just as one would expect people like that to. As for the most widely known of them, the gods treated him in such a way that his enemies would have wanted him to go on living rather than die, making him an example to others, so that they realize that the gods do not wait and punish the children of people who behave in an utterly outrageous way where divine matters are concerned, but destroy the individuals in question themselves, by striking them with greater and harsher misfortunes and diseases than they impose on others. Because dying and suffering from ordinary diseases is an experience we all share; but to go on like this for so long, and to be dying every day, but nonetheless unable to bring one's life to an end—that is reserved exclusively for people who commit the sort of crimes this man did.

This is what the orator has to say about Kinesias.

LYSIAS fr. 195 CAREY = Ath. 12.551d-552b[32]

Kinesias is portrayed in the fragment as the most impious and lawless person alive but apart from his gatherings with his companions *Kakodaimonistai* Lysias mentions no other wicked act or behaviour whatsoever. No need to, it seems; the assembly is reminded of all the religious crimes of Kinesias by the comic poets who year after year mocked his impious behaviour on the comic stage.[33] The most substantial physical, musical, and poetic representation of Kinesias is found in Aristophanes' *Birds*, where he appears on stage as

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[32] The Greek text is that of Carey in the OCT edition of Lysias, which, however, starts from ὅτι δὲ ἦν. I also retain the τὸ φιλύρας τοῦ ξύλου that is found in the ACE manuscripts of Athenaeus.

[33] Cf. Harpocr. κ 59 Keaney where Harpocration stresses in his summary of Lysias' speeches that in the drama *Kinesias* Strattis ridiculed Kinesias' impiety (ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτοῦ κωμῳδεῖ).

the representative of the New Musical style (*Av.* 1373-1409). He is depicted as light enough to be flying like a bird in the sky (v. 1375 ἀναπέτομαι), where he also acquires his inspiration among the clouds (v. 1384 ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν), lime-wooded (v. 1377 φιλύρινον), perhaps also with a lame leg (v. 1378 πόδα κυλλόν), composing and singing light, insubstantial, air-whirled, and non-strophic preludes in the absence of a chorus (vv. 1384f.).[34] His appearance in the *Birds* is complemented by several other comic scenes and fragments that mock similar aspects of his figure and persona and also add other features to his comic representation. In Aristophanes' *Gerytades* he is depicted as a poet who was so thin that he looked as if he frequented the Underworld (*PCG* 156), hints are made of a public incident of diarrhoea while singing with his choruses in honour of Hecatae, if we trust the scholia (Ar. *Ecc.* 366 with scholia *ad loc.* and Ar. *Ecc.* 329f.), and Plato Comicus (*PCG* 200) describes him as thin as a rake (σκελετός), buttless (ἄπυγος), with skinny legs (καλάμινα σκέλη φορῶν), and looking as if he is moments away from death (φθόης προφήτης). His natural thinness, which allows him to join Cloudcuckooland in the *Birds* and pretend to fly, is exaggerated and picked up in these comic passages in order to portray the main features of the New Music; lightness would be translated into lack of substance, meaning, and intellect.[35]

Both Lysias and Athenaeus explicitly mention characteristics of Kinesias that are parodied on the comic stage—his tall and skinny physique and his fragile health—and they even recall his *kampai* and his comic characterization *philyrinos* (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1377).[36] To my knowledge in no other oratorical speech is comedy introduced as source of information for any accusation nor does Lysias himself refer to it in any of his speeches as a parallel source to his arguments or to support any accusations against his opponents. Only Isocrates, who was roughly contemporary with Lysias, comments on comedy's generic licence to ridicule everything without constraint, and associates this tendency of comedy with the reckless speeches of bad orators (ἀφρονεστάτοις) who do not care

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34   On the relevant lines from the *Birds*, see Ieranò 2013, 368f, 380-3; on Kinesias' appearance in *Birds*, see in detail Dunbar 1995, 660-73. Kinesias also claims to have been extremely loved by the people (*Av.* 1303f.), a statement that is confirmed by an early fourth century inscription with a dedication by a victorious *khorēgos* whose chorus was trained by Kinesias: *IG* II² 3028]ατος Φαληρεὺς ἐχ[ορήγε ||]Κινήσιας ἐδίδ[ασκε]. ('Phalereus was the choregos. Kinesias taught [*sc.* the chorus]').

35   Cf. *Suda* s.v. φιλύρινος Κινησίας (π 454 Adler), which encapsulates the critical features that are parodied in the scene from the *Birds*: physical and mental lightness, and bodily disabilities.

36   On the depiction of Kinesias as lime-wood, see Lawler 1950.

for the welfare of the public (Isoc. 8.14.1-5).[37] Comedy becomes a significant parallel source only in Plato's *Apology*, where Plato imagines Socrates defending himself at his trial for impiety and corruption (*Ap*. 19b-d). In this imaginary speech Socrates enumerates the accusations that have been crafted against him—'Socrates is a criminal and a busybody, investigating things beneath the earth and in the heavens and making the weaker argument stronger and teaching others these same things' (*Ap*. 19b4-c2)—and recreates the caricature in Aristophanes' *Clouds* where he appears overhead and wafts in a basket at the end of a rope with the aim of better observing of sun (Ar. *Nu*. 217-34). He himself points out that Aristophanes and his comedies, which the Athenians attended, have provided the substance for his accusations.[38] Whereas Plato's Socrates reproduces his comic caricature with the aim of refuting it,[39] Lysias reinforces his accusations against Kinesias by referring to the slander to which he was subjected in comedy.

Stephen Kidd points out that while the artistic and conventional context of ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν may contribute to the fictional character of the comic attack, the content that is chosen as material for mockery is often connected with reality, and is indeed meant to be taken seriously.[40] A content-oriented interpretation would eliminate the limitations that are created from the conventional and often exaggerated character of comic mockery, and would consider our poet and all his flaws as a non-fictional construct. Kinesias might indeed have been very thin and sickly. Comedy's influence on the manner in which both Athenaeus and Lysias portray Kinesias is evident in the association of Kinesias' immoral behaviour and ethos with his comic caricature. The representation and portrayal of the New Poet as a lawless individual whose immoral ethos is reflected in his physique and in his bad health is presented as continuous and uninterrupted in our sources, which evidently build on each other: Lysias on comedy and Athenaeus on both comedy and Lysias.[41] While his slim physique in comedy is an indirect attack against his insubstantial compositions and might additionally be interpreted as an allusion to the feeble and

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37 Cf. Isoc. 2.44.3 on how the public would prefer the follies of the lowest comedy instead of the admonitions of Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides.

38 Pl. *Ap*. 19b τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἑωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ ('something of that sort it is. For you saw these things in Aristophanes' comedy').

39 *Ap*. 19d ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδὲν μέτεστιν ('but I, men of Athens, have nothing to do with these things').

40 Kidd 2014, 97-9.

41 Cf. Plut. *De Gloria Ath*. 348b-c σκωπτόμενος δὲ καὶ χλευαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιοποιῶν οὐκ εὐτυχοῦς δόξης μετέσθηκε ('jeered and mocked by the comic poets, he acquired his share in unfortunate notoriety') on the power of comic parody in shaping Kinesias' fame.

non-intellectual New Music Kinesias represents, Lysias associates Kinesias' body and physical appearance with his immoral ethos when he interprets his sickly appearance as punishment for his unethical and disrespectful behaviour.

Undoubtedly, both Lysias and Athenaeus draw explicitly on Kinesias' comic caricature. Although one cannot argue for a connection between Kinesias' portrayal in Lysias and the Platonic criticism of the New Music in the *Laws* due to issues of chronology, it is still possible to suggest that Lysias is thinking in a Platonic way, so to speak. If we are meant to trust the accusations included in Lysias' fragment, Kinesias shows no respect towards religious and other laws. He is thus *paranomōtatos*, the most lawless of all men. The Athenian in Plato's *Laws* criticizes the new status quo of *mousikē* by calling attention to the lack of respect towards poetic and musical laws—the New Music is an example of *paranomia*—and Kinesias is presented as the exemplar poet of such musical and poetic *paranomia* in the *Gorgias*.[42] The contempt for law, nonetheless, originates in *mousikē*, as the Athenian claims in the *Laws* (*Lg.* 701a5-7), and one might argue that the musical and poetic portrait of Kinesias gradually leads to his lawless behaviour as an Athenian citizen. In Plato's understanding, as it is laid out by the Athenian lawgiver, Kinesias' behaviour in the political sphere would ultimately follow as a consequence of his disregard for the laws of *mousikē*. We have also seen how Kinesias' depiction in several comic passages reflects the features of the New Music criticized by the Athenian in Plato's *Laws*, which features do not accord to the kind of poetry that would be accepted in Magnesia, that is, the kind of poetry that could contribute to the creation and establishment of an ideal community.

Both Athenaeus and Lysias offer additional pieces of evidence to suggest that not only Kinesias' compositions but also his behaviour as a citizen were a threat to the community, in this case to the Athenian community. It seems that Kinesias deserted his poetic art and became a sycophant, a label that in Athens was attached to a group of young newcomers to the world of social and political elites and who were also prepared to break moral protocols.[43] A sycophant for the Athenians is the individual whose 'legal behaviour is antithetical to that of a good citizen'[44] and who becomes a threat to social unity and legal stability; the motivation behind sycophancy is personal advantage. In comedy especially a sycophant will intrude, be exposed as base, and then expelled (Ar. *Av.* 1410-1469, *Pl.* 850-958), and in oratorical speeches a sycophant is equally portrayed as a social enemy and polluted outcast (e.g. Dem. 25.60-3). Although

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42   Ieranò (2010, 72) characterises Kinesias as a demagogue of poetry.

43   See Fisher 2008, 186.

44   Christ 2008, 170.

Kinesias' characterization as a sycophant derives exclusively from his prosecu-
tion against Phanias, which is used by Lysias as proof of his disrespect towards
the laws, it is difficult not to see an additional ethical interpretation of the
term that would turn the sycophant Kinesias into a threat to the moral values
of the city and to its very substance as community.[45] At this very point the two
personae of Kinesias—the New Poet and the Athenian citizen—converge, and
his lawless behaviour merges his conduct within society with his poetry
and ethos. The novel character of the New Music was in any case associated by
its critics with social concerns and moral decline.[46] The same critics equally
turned the representatives of the new poetic and musical trend of the late
fifth and early fourth centuries into figures of compromised principles. We
need only remember the metaphors Mousike uses in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* to
describe the changes to which she was subjected and the general picture of
moral decadence within which our sources contextualize the New Music. It
is therefore possible to argue that these poets were also portrayed as threats,
even if only obliquely.

In addition to the depiction of the New Poets and of Kinesias in particular
as potential communal and ethical threats, according to Strattis Kinesias also
killed the chorus.

σκηνὴ μὲν <   > τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησίου

the tent of Kinesias the chorus-killer
                STRATTIS *Kinesias PCG* 16

Strattis' fragment is cited by the scholiast in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (schol. *Ra.*
404a) in connection with Kinesias' supposed interference with comic *khorēgia*
at the Lenaea festival. As we also read in the scholion to Ar. *Ra.* 153, Kinesias,
who also enjoyed a short career in politics,[47] took action against the comic
poets, who remained without *khorēgoi* (ἀχορήγητοι) as punishment for the
way in which they ridiculed him on the comic stage.[48] Nothing in Strattis' frag-
ment suggests such an interpretation, however, and I would rather associate
Kinesias' characterization as 'chorus-killer' with the changes he introduced in

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45   On the sycophant in comedy and oratory, see Christ 2008, 170-4.
46   On the psychology of novelty, see D'Angour 2011, 27-32.
47   A late fourth-century inscription (*IG* II² 18 = 108 Tod, 393 BC) that was found in the
      Theatre of Dionysus at Athens records a motion by Kinesias to honour and offer privileges
      to Dionysius the Elder, the tyrant of Syracuse, and his family, on which see Tod 1946, 24-6.
48   Cf. *Suda* s.v. πυρρίχη (= π 3225 Adler); Arist. fr.630 R on the establishment of *sykhorēgia*,
      with Wilson 2000, 265; Meriani 1995, 29-32 and Orth 2009, 108-15 on Strattis *PCG* 16.

his dithyrambic performances.[49] He is in any case depicted in Aristophanes' *Birds* walking with a limp (*Av.* 1379), which could be an allusion to the irregular moves he might have introduced in his actual poetic compositions and performances with circular choruses.[50] Such moves would have interfered with the chorus' circular dance. Poetically and in terms of performance therefore Kinesias' innovations and alterations would have ruined circular dance performances. It is, moreover, possible to look beyond the aesthetic appeal that choral performances might have lost at the hands of Kinesias, and detect an additional meaning that might be hinted at behind his description as 'killer of the chorus'.

Recent studies have emphasized the social value of choral performances, as *khoreia*—both the dance and the group of dancers—is perceived by the Greeks as an activity that forms social coherence and constitutes community itself.[51] The chorus is thus seen as a symbol for the community, and choral singing and dancing become both a form of social integration and a means for collective display and civic representation. These dynamics are particularly valid in Athens where dithyrambs and performances with circular choruses had a social and political significance. As tribal choruses in Athens appeared after Kleisthenes' reformation of the society in tribes and after his choral reorganization of the Dionysia, the dithyrambic chorus was in all probability the first form of collective action in the new tribal system.[52] Dancing for Dionysos developed a sense of tribal solidarity, as Peter Wilson argues.[53] In general the chorus in antiquity represented the community (any kind of community), and through its performance it also drew in all members of that community, as the skilful and harmonic dance of a chorus instilled in both performers and spectators the erotics of community-building.[54] These very erotics that the chorus projects at performance are put to use in Plato's *Laws*.[55] *Khoreia* becomes in the *Laws* the main instrument through which the collective character of Magnesia's community is shaped and the primary form of public discourse

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49   Cf. Orth (2009, 111f.), who takes this adjective as an indication of the changing status of the chorus in the fourth century BC and of the introduction of solo pieces.

50   Dunbar (1995, ad loc) suggests that the entire verse might refer to the unsteady dance steps that accompanied Kinesias' entrance-song, to the actual choruses performing circular movements around the altar in the orchestra, and to the irregular metrical feet Kinesias produced in his lines.

51   E.g. Calame 1997; Kowalzig 2004, 2005, 2007; Kurke 2012; Wilson 2000, 2003b.

52   Wilson 2003b, 182f.

53   Wilson 2003b, 168.

54   Kurke 2012, 226f.

55   The shaping of Magnesia's community through the erotics of citizenship that are projected in choral performances has been analysed extensively in Prauscello 2014.

on which the civic unity and moral identity of the new community are built. Strattis' characterization of Kinesias as 'chorus-killer' becomes particularly significant if one interprets the chorus as a symbol for the identity and coherence of the community. Kinesias' chorally destructive actions would then have interrupted the sense of social and political cohesion that a chorus would potentially transmit at performance. One could claim that his innovations would even have silenced the civic voice. Going a step further Kinesias' chorally destructive acts might also reflect his behaviour as a citizen and member of Athenian society. His new role as a sycophant and his unlawful actions are depicted in Lysias as having dire consequences for both the legal institutions and the stability of the community.

To sum up, Kinesias is remembered in our sources especially for the modulations (*kampai*) he introduced in his poetic compositions, a term that also carries ethical connotations and metaphorically denotes a lack of morality. Such an association between *kampē* as primarily a musical feature of the New Music and *kampē* as metaphorically an ethical characteristic would explain the intense connection of Kinesias with the musical twisting and bending, as well as the constant references to his breaking the circular mode of dithyrambic performances. It would also account for Kinesias' depiction in Athenaeus as a very thin individual who had to wear a lime-wood board to prevent himself from bending, an image that alludes to both his professional and ethical persona: his excess in bending melodies, his exaggerated dance moves, his physical lightness and poetic shallowness, and his lack of upright morality.[56] According to Plato, he is also the New Poet who aimed exclusively to gratify the uncultivated and uneducated mob. Coupled with Mousike's accusation in Pherecrates' *Cheiron* that he mixed the performative modes of the *pyrrichē* and of the dithyramb, he is indeed singled out as the New Poet whose poetic career would reflect all the features of the New Music that are criticized in the *Laws*. In light of the criticism of the New Music and of the moralization and politicization of choral performances in Plato's *Laws*, where *khoreia* is put into action as an instrument of community-formation, and also of Kinesias' depiction in Lysias as a lawless individual whose actions are a threat to the communal good, one could rightly argue that Kinesias is portrayed in our sources as a threat to the community's poetic, musical, ethical, and political stability. He is, nevertheless, the New Poet who destabilized choral performances, and thus both literally and figuratively killed the chorus, the symbol of the community itself.

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56   Cf. Franklin 2017, 167-9.

Acknowledgments

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BRILL

Some Improvements for the Restored *Hormasia* Tables

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Abstract

The lost *hormasia* tables, as restored in my previous article, are modified in the present contribution by some corrections or improvements. The improved tables at least theoretically provide a refined system of accompaniment by two-note chords, essentially fifths or fourths, picked out of the latter part of the left hand row. Furthermore, this part can be used for playing a second voice in parallel fifths, fourths, seconds and thirds (or their octaves). The fourth section presents some comparable phenomena, both from medieval European theory and from old folklore which is likely to be rooted in Byzantine or even ancient music. A note on ancient 'polyphony' is added, together with some general remarks on the possibilities of restoring the lost tables.

Keywords

second voice – bourdons – parallel thirds – parallel fourths – parallel seconds – accompaniment by chords of void fifths

1 Corrections

My previous attempt to restore the lost *hormasia* tables was led by the principle of retaining the properties of the preserved Hypolydian table as far as possible.[1] This refers in particular to the pitch of the system, since all scales should probably be played on the same musical instrument. It seemed sufficient, therefore, to add to the Hypolydian scale the sharps and flats characteristic of the other

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1   Najock 2018.

scales as in Alypius and to lower in the chromatic and enharmonic scales the *phthongoi kinoumenoi* accordingly.[2] So the restored tables represent different sections of the (extended) Greater System. On the whole, this procedure makes sense, but I forgot to adapt a single feature also closely linked to the Greater System: the 12th note of the left hand sequence, *bb* in diatonic Hypolydian, is *tritē synhēmmenōn* in this scale.[3] It does not occur in the heptatonic right hand sequence and adds an element of change to the system (simple chromaticism and modulation). Furthermore, it introduces in the left hand sequence a fifth below *tritē hyperbolaiōn*, here below *f'*. In my previous attempt, I retained this *bb* as far as possible, although I noticed a certain difficulty: the coincidence with the next note in many cases. Obviously, our *tritē synhēmmenōn* must be introduced into the lost tables at the proper places, i. e. a half-tone above the respective *mesē*, then—as *b* in Hypolydian—*paramesē* must follow, and *tritē diezeugmenōn*—as *c'* in Hypolydian—must be left out so that the sequence of parallel tenths (right & left hand) can be continued. In fact this is the whole structure of the irregularity which interrupts the sequence of parallel thirds and tenths and introduces a single fourth or eleventh (over *paramesē*). If this irregularity is moved to the proper places in the other scales, the problem of coincidence disappears completely, as can be seen in the improved tables below.[4]

All this refers to the diatonic and chromatic scales. In the enharmonic scales, it makes no sense to introduce *tritē synhēmmenōn*, unless *paranētē synhēmmenōn*, the next quarter-tone too, is introduced. But this operation would necessitate a whole chain of further changes. Instead it seems advisable to renounce enharmonic *tritē synhēmmenōn* and to restore the simple heptatonic sequence (of *mesē*, *paramesē*, *tritē diezeugmenōn*, etc.) also for the 13th left hand note, which in my previous attempt had become equal to the 12th (as a consequence of the introduction of *tritē synhēmmenōn* in diatonic Hypolydian). Then the enharmonic left hand sequences will correspond to their normal heptatonic form from the 8th note to the last (this is the first step of improvement in the enharmonic scales, denoted by '*left h. o*' in the respective tables). Comparison of these sequences with the respective right hand scales shows that strictly parallel play of both hands will produce dissonances everywhere, but that slightly shifted parallel movement—with the left hand always one note closer to the beginning—will produce consonances

2   For Alypius, cf. Jan 1895, 368-406.
3   Note that *b* flat is represented by *bb* in this article, *e* flat by *eb* etc.
4   Furthermore, a few of the former 'peculiarities' disappear: *trt⁸* in diatonic and chromatic Lydian, in the latter also the major second.

almost everywhere, mainly fourths and elevenths. Two left hand notes, however, towards the end of the sequence, remain dissonant even so, *parhypatē mesōn* and *lichanos mesōn*. Now, if these notes are moved one place towards the end, the dissonances disappear, in favour of twelfths, while the note gap caused by this movement can conveniently be filled with a second *hypatē mesōn*, which will continue the series of elevenths and twelfths in shifted parallel play. Furthermore, it is necessary to skip one note after the transposed ones so that the series of elevenths and twelfths can be continued. The method chosen here skips *mesē*, replacing it with *lichanos mesōn*. This replacement is not really necessary, since *mesē* forms a tenth (or third) with the corresponding right hand note (*d'-f"* in Lydian, *f'-ab'* in Hyperphrygian, *e'-g"* in Hyperiastian). Nevertheless the procedure chosen appears preferable, since in this way the enharmonic triplets are preserved, *a-a+-bb* in Lydian, *c'-c+'-db'* in Hyperphrygian and *b-b+-c'* in Hyperiastian (these changes constitute the second step of improvement in the enharmonic scales, denoted by '*left h.*' in the following tables). Also the system of complementary chords profits from this choice, as will be shown below. In the following list of tables, the corrected notes for the left hand (and the corresponding intervals) are given in bold face:[5]

Hypolydian, diatonic

right h.	g	a̲	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	e'	f'	g	a	bb	b	d'	e'	f'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	3	3	10	10	10	11	10	10	10

Hyperlydian, diatonic

right h.	g	a	bb	c'	d'	eb'	f'	g̲'	a'	bb'	c"	d"	eb"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	eb'	f'	g	**ab**	**a**	c'	d'	eb'	f'
interv.	4	4	7!	5	4	3	4	3	3	10	10	**11**	**10**	10	10	10

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5   The intervals are denoted as in my previous article: '5' fifth, '4' fourth, 'trt' tritone, 'trt⁸' tritone plus octave, '3' minor or major third, '10' minor or major tenth, '2' major second, '2!' minor second, '9' major ninth, '9!' minor ninth, '7' minor seventh, '7!' major seventh. The plus and minus symbols indicate augmentation and diminution by a quarter-tone: '2+' augmented major second, '3-' diminished minor third, '3+' augmented major third etc. (a mean third, ca. 350 cents, does not occur). A representation of these tables in modern notation is given in the Appendix as Figure 15.

Hyperaiolian, diatonic (1)

right h.	f#	g#	a	b	c#'	d'	e'	_f#'_	g#'	a'	b'	c#"	d"	e"	f#"	g#"
left h.	?	d	d'	a'	g#'	g#'	c#'	c#'	e'	f#'	**g**	**g#**	**b**	**c#'**	d'	e'
interv.	?	trt	4	7	5	trt	3	4	3	3	10	**11**	10	**10**	10	10

Hypoiastian, chromatic

right h.	g#	a	bb	c#'	d'	eb'	_f#'_	g#'	a'	bb'	c#"	d"	eb"	f#"	g#"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g#'	g#'	c#'	c#'	eb'	f#'	**g**	**g#**	bb	**c#'**	d'	eb'	f#'
interv.	trt	4	7!	5	trt	2	4	4	3	**10**	**11**	10	**9**	10	**11**	10

Hyperaiolian, diatonic (2)

right h.	g#	a	b	c#'	d'	e'	_f#'_	g#'	a'	b'	c#"	d"	e"	f#"	g#"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g#'	g#'	c#'	c#'	e'	f#'	**g**	**g#**	**b**	**c#'**	d'	e'	f#'
interv.	trt	4	7	5	trt	3	4	3	3	10	**11**	10	**10**	10	10	10

Lydian, diatonic[6]

right h.	g	a	bb	c'	_d'_	e'	f'	g'	a'	bb'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	**eb'**	**e'**	g	a	bb	**c'**	d'	(e')	(f')
interv.	4	4	7!	5	4	3	4	3	**4**	10	10	10	**10**	10	10	10

Lydian, chromatic

right h.	gb	a	bb	b	_d'_	e'	f'	gb'	a'	bb'	b'	d"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	gb'	gb'	b	b	**eb'**	**e'**	gb	a	bb	**b**	d'	(e')	(f')
interv.	3	4	7!	5	3	4	trt	**3**	**4**	10	9	10	**11**	10	9	10

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6 The last two left hand notes of diatonic and chromatic Lydian—(*e'*) and (*f'*)—are given in round brackets, because *eb'* and *e'* (as in the middle of the row) would also fit. While (*e'*) and (*f'*) are better for accompaniment with complementary chords, shifted parallel play profits from *eb'* and *e'*. Possibly this was a real alternative in tuning, depending on the intentions of the players.

Lydian, enharmonic

right h.	f	a	a+	bb	_d'_	e'	e+'	f'	a'	a+'	bb'	d"	e"	e+"	f"	a"
left h. o	d	d'	a'	f'	f'	bb	bb	e'	e+'	f	a	a+	**bb**	d'	e'	e+'
left h.	d	d'	a'	f'	f'	bb	bb	e'	e+'	f	a	a	a+	**bb**	e'	e+'
interv.	3	4	8-	5	3	trt	trt+	2!	4-	10+	9!	11	**trt^8+**	**trt^8+**	9!	11-

Hyperphrygian, enharmonic[7]

right h.	g	g+	ab	c'	c+'	db'	_f'_	g'	g+'	ab'	c"	c+"	db"	f"	g"	g+"
left h. o	c+	c+'	g+'	g'	g'	c'	c'	db'	f'	g	g+	ab	**c'**	c+'	db'	f'
left h.	c+	c+'	g+'	g'	g'	c'	c'	c+'	**db'**	g	g+	ab	c'	c'	c+'	**db'**
interv.	trt+	4	8-	5	trt+	2!	4	**trt+**	**trt+**	9!	11-	10+	**9!**	11	**trt^8+**	**trt^8+**

Hyperiastian, diatonic

right h.	g	a	b	c'	d'	_e'_	f#'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f#"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	e'	f'	f#	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f#'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	trt	3	3	**11**	10	10	**10**	10	10	10

Hyperiastian, enharmonic

right h.	f#+	g	b	b+	c'	_e'_	f#'	f#+'	g'	b'	b+'	c"	e"	f#"	f#+"	g"
left h. o	c	c'	g'	f#+'	f#+'	b+	b+	e'	f#'	f#+	g	b	**b+**	c'	e'	f#'
left h.	c	c'	g'	f#+'	f#+'	b+	b+	e'	f#'	f#+	g	b	b	**b+**	c'	f#'
interv.	trt+	4	6	5	trt+	4-	trt+	2+	2!	11-	10+	9!	11	**trt^8+**	**trt^8+**	9!

At this point it might be suggested that in the enharmonic scales the left hand sequences from the 8th to the 15th note be shifted to the 9th through 16th places, so that a strictly parallel play in consonances becomes possible. I have chosen this arrangement to show the resulting intervals in shifted parallel play (see below), but for real tuning I would prefer to keep the sequences from 8th to 15th note in their old places. If the sequences from 8th to 15th note were really shifted to the 9th through 16th places, the 8th place would become void.

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7   The first and the fifth interval were mistaken in my previous article.

Admittedly, this gap could conveniently be filled with *d'* in enharmonic Lydian and with *c'* in enharmonic Hyperiastian, but in enharmonic Hyperphrygian neither a third *c'* nor a second *c+'* would be a good choice. On the whole, the assumption of shifted parallel play appears preferable to the assumption of shifted tuning.

Lydian, enharmonic, shifted left hand action (-1)

right h.	f	a	a+	bb	d'	e'	e+'	f'	a'	a+'	bb'	d"	e"	e+"	f"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	f'	f'	bb	bb	[d']	e'	e+'	f	a	a	a+	bb	e'
interv.	3	4	8-	5	3	trt	trt+		4	4	11	11	12	12	12	11

Hyperphrygian, enharmonic, shifted left hand action (-1)

right h.	g	g+	ab	c'	c+'	db'	f'	g'	g+'	ab'	c"	c+"	db"	f"	g"	g+"
left h.	c+	c+'	g+'	g'	g'	c'	c'		c+'	db'	g	g+	ab	c'	c'	c+'
interv.	trt+	4	8-	5	trt+	2!	4		5	5	11	11	11	11	12	12

Hyperiastian, enharmonic, shifted left hand action (-1)

right h.	f#+	g	b	b+	c'	e'	f#'	f#+'	g'	b'	b+'	c"	e"	f#"	f#+"	g"
left h.	c	c'	g'	f#+'	f#+'	b+	b+	[c']	e'	f#'	f#+	g	b	b	b+	c'
interv.	trt+	4	6	5	trt+	4-	trt+		3	4	11	11	11	12	12	12

2 Possible Accompaniment with Complementary Two-Note Chords

In all three genera, the latter part of the left hand sequence, from the 8th to the 16th note, provides not only the possibility of playing a parallel second voice but also an extended or alternative accompaniment with two-note chords picked out of the sequence by two fingers in the fixed span for a fifth, e. g. *g-d'* or *a-e'* in Hypolydian. Next to strumming one of the basic chords with the thumb (1st to 7th note of the left hand sequence) and to parallel play, this method is more or less easy in performance. Since the chords obtained in this way are mainly fifths, the method can be regarded as an extension of or complement to the fifths of the basic chords (e. g. *d'-a'* and *c'-g'*), but we shall see that the complementary chords also constitute a complete system of its own which

can function without the basic chords. Clearly not all of the chords obtained by the fixed span are fifths (as a consequence of the properties of the scales and the introduction of an additional note), but there are fifths enough to provide a good system. Some of them might be called nominal fifths, because the leap to the lower octave, between the 9th and the 10th note, turns them into acoustic fourths. Furthermore, the enharmonic scales have mainly fourths in place of the fifths, because a note within the fixed span is doubled. These fourths, too, are sometimes only nominal fourths, since the leap mentioned turns them into acoustic fifths, as *e'-a* and *e+'-a+* in enharmonic Lydian and *f#'-b* in enharmonic Hyperiastian.

Scale	Basic chords	Complementary chords[a]	Not covered
Hypolyd.diat.	d-d', d'-a', c'-g'	g-d', a-e', bb-f' (previously the same)	b, c'
Hyperlyd.diat.	d-d', d'-a', c'-g'	f'-c', g-d', ab-eb' (previously eb'-bb, f'-bb, g-d',bb-f')	a, bb
Hyperaiol.diat. (1)	d-d', d'-a', c#'-g#'	e'-b, f#'-c#', g-d' (previously f#'-b, a-e')	g#, a
Hypoiast.chrom.	d-d', d'-a', c#'-g#'	(eb'-bb), f#'-c#', g-d', g#-eb' (previously eb'-bb)	a, (bb)
Hyperaiol.diat. (2)	d-d', d'-a', c#'-g#'	e'-b, f#'-c#', g-d', [b-f#'] (previously f#'-b, a-e')	g#, a
Lyd.diat.	d-d', d'-a', c'-g'	(eb'-bb), g-d', a-e', bb-f' (previously f'-bb, g-d', a-e',bb-f')	c'
Lyd.chrom.	d-d', d'-a', b-gb'(=f#')	eb'-bb, e'-b, a-e', bb-f' (previously f'-bb, a-e', bb-f')	gb, d'
Lyd.enh.	d-d', d'-a', bb-f'	e'-a, e+'-a+, f-bb, [a-e'] (previously e+'-a+, a-e', a+-e+')	d'
Hyperphryg.enh.	c+-c+', c+'-g+', c'-g'	[db'-ab], g-c', g+-c+', ab-db' (previously db'-ab)	f'
Hyperiast.diat.	d-d', d'-a', c'-g'	e'-b, f'-c', a-e', b-f#' (previously f#'-b, g-d', a-e')	g, d'
Hyperiast.enh.	c-c', c'-g', b+-f#+'	(e'-b), f#'-b, f#+-b+, g-c', [b-f#'] (previously e'-b, f#'-b, b-f#')	(e')

a For comparison, the complementary chords of my first attempt to restore the lost tables are given in a second line.

The complementary chords never repeat one of the three basic chords. In the enharmonic scales, however, a few complementary fourths continue a higher basic fifth in such a way that an octave would result, if they could be played together, e. g. *f-bb* & *bb-f'* in enharmonic Lydian.[8] On the whole, the complementary chords really complement the basic ones. Within the complementary chords, however, three acoustic doublets appear, again in the three enharmonic scales: *e'-a* & *a-e'* in Lydian, *db'-ab* & *ab-db'* in Hyperphrygian and *f#'-b* & *b-f#'* in Hyperiastian. In each of these cases, the first note of the first chord results from octavation (caused by the leap in the left hand sequence), while the second chord is a regular fifth or fourth from the end of the sequence. Furthermore, in each of these cases only one of the two chords is part of an enharmonic triplet of chords defined by consecutive quarter-tones (adjacent on the instrument). Each of these triplets constitutes a very good base for enharmonic chordal accompaniment, since the six notes of its chords cover all notes but one of the corresponding right hand scale. The notes not directly covered are *d'* in Lydian, *f'* in Hyperphrygian and *e'* in Hyperiastian (and their octaves), but each of them can be accompanied in half-consonance by one of the triplet chords: *d'* by *f-bb* in Lydian, *f'* by *ab-db'* in Hyperphrygian and *e'* by *g-c'* in Hyperiastian. Thus the acoustic doublet not contained in the proper triplet chords—enclosed in square brackets in our table—could well be dismissed in practice. In the same table, I have joined the triplet chords together with continuous underlining, since they are a set of neighbouring chords on the soundboard, in the same way as similar neighbouring chords in the other scales.

In the non-enharmonic scales, too, a few complementary chords—all without underlining—could be dismissed in practice, although one of them might add a single note to the others, *eb'-bb* in chromatic Hypoiastian and diatonic Lydian, given in round brackets here, while the second, *b-f#'* in diatonic Hyperaiolian, adds nothing and can be excluded with square brackets. In enharmonic Hyperiastian, finally, *e'-b*, given in round brackets, might add *e'* to the notes of the triplet chords, but without *e'-b* the complementary chords correspond better to those of the other enharmonic scales. Thus we arrive at a system of mainly three neighbouring chords for each of the scales, but in two cases, chromatic Lydian and diatonic Hyperiastian, we arrive at four chords divided into two pairs of neighbouring chords. Here, two notes appear twice.

The chords of the diatonic and chromatic scales, except diatonic Lydian, include *tritē synhēmmenōn*. So only five notes of the underlined chords agree

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8   In enharmonic Hyperphrygian, there are even two such instances, *g-c'* & *c'-g'* and *g+-c+'* & *c+'-g+'*.

with a note of the respective right hand scale. Therefore, normally two notes not directly covered by the chords must be accompanied in half-consonance (or dissonance). In diatonic Hypolydian, for example, *b* and *c'* do not appear in the associated chords, but they can be accompanied by *g-d'* and *a-e'* respectively. Only in diatonic Lydian, all six chord notes agree with a note of the heptatonic right hand scale, so that in this case only the note *c'* must be accompanied in half-consonance, i.e. by *a-e'*.

On the whole, the system of accompaniment by complementary chords may have been the following. As far as possible, each note of a particular right hand scale will be accompanied by an associated left hand chord which contains that note (or an octave). This chord is uniquely determined in the scales with chord triplets, i.e. everywhere except in chromatic Lydian and diatonic Hyperaistian, where *e'* and *bb*, or *e'* and *b* respectively, occur twice in the chords. This accompaniment is consonant. For the remaining right hand notes, one or two per scale, one of the associated chords will provide an accompaniment in half-consonance (as described above). These chords, too, are uniquely determined, and are given in the following list: diatonic Hypolydian: *b* with *g-d'*, *c'* with *a-e'*; diatonic Hyperlydian: *a* with *f'-c'*, *bb* with *g-d'*; diatonic Hyperaiolian (1) and (2): *g#* with *e'-b*, *a* with *f#'-c#'*; chromatic Hypoiastian: *a* with *f#'-c#'*, *bb* with *g-d'*; diatonic Lydian: *c'* with *a-e'*; chromatic Lydian: *gb* with *eb'-bb'*, *d'* with *bb-f'*; enharmonic Lydian: *d'* with *f-bb*; enharmonic Hyperphrygian: *f'* with *ab-db'*; diatonic Hyperaistian: *g* with *e'-b*, *d'* with *b-f#'*; enharmonic Hyperaistian: *e'* with *g-c'*. So the complementary chords constitute a system of its own, which perfectly suffices for accompaniment without the basic chords. It is even more refined than the system of the latter. In particular it provides for most scales triplets of directly neighbouring chords, while the basic chords provide only pairs such as *d'-a'* & *c'-g'*.

In the previous section, the notes not directly covered by one of the respective complementary chords are associated with one of these chords in such a way that the fifths (or nominal fifths) are filled with thirds, i.e. the association aims at half-consonance. It is possible, however, to follow a different principle and to split the fifths into a fourth and a whole tone (in place of the thirds). The whole tone adds an element of dissonance to the accompaniment, but it can be regarded as an accepted dissonance. For this method, the associations are as follows: diatonic Hypolydian: *b* with *a-e'*, *c'* with *g-d'* or *bb-f'*; diatonic Hyperlydian: *a* with *g-d'*, *bb* with *f'-c'* or *ab-eb'*; diatonic Hyperaiolian: *g#* with *f#'-c#'*, *a* with *e'-b* or *g-d'*; chromatic Hypoiastian: *a* with *g-d'*, *bb* with *g#-eb'*; diatonic Lydian: *c'* with *g-d'* or *bb-f'*; chromatic Lydian: *gb* with *e'-b* (or *a-e'*), *d'* with *a-e'* (or *e'-b*); enharmonic Lydian: *d'* with *e'-a*; enharmonic Hyperphrygian: *f'* with *g-c'*; diatonic Hyperaistian: *g* with *f'-c'* (or *a-e'*), *d'* with *a-e'* (or *f'-c'*);

enharmonic Hyperiastian: *e'* with *f#'-b*. The chords given in round brackets can be dismissed for this method, since they would involve a third (or a sixth). Note that accompaniment by complementary chords is not uniquely determined, if fifths are split in this way.

It must be remarked that both methods of accompaniment with our 'complementary chords' mainly add fifths (or nominal fifths) to the notes of the melody, since most notes are directly covered by these chords, i.e. they are one part of them, and the other part gives an upper or lower fifth. The result will be somewhat similar to certain types of improvised two-voice singing, which have survived in Iceland and the Caucasian region, and which seem to have their roots in the old *organum* (ca. 900 AD) or even in ancient music. An example from Iceland, with crossing voices, is this:[9]

FIGURE 1   Improvised two-voice singing in Iceland

3   Shifted Parallel Play

It remains now to comment on parallel play. In the first place, we have to ask whether shifted parallel play should be assumed not only for the enharmonic scales, but for the diatonic and chromatic scales, too. For this purpose, it will be sufficient to regard the Hypolydian scale, since the other scales, diatonic as well as chromatic, show analogous structures. The direction and the degree of shifting will be indicated by numbers in parentheses, e.g. by (-1), if the left hand action—in comparison with strictly parallel play—is always one place further towards the beginning. Similarly, (-2) indicates a shift of two places in the same direction, whereas (+1) indicates a shift of one place in the opposite direction. In addition to these shifts, a slightly simplified version of the left hand row should also be taken into account, without the insertion of *tritē synhēmmenōn*

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9   Schneider 1969, 2, Example 1. An example from Epirus (Schneider 1969, 3, Example 19) is
    characterized mainly by fourths and thirds.

and its consequences, i.e. the simple heptatonic scale in the right part of this row (called '*alternative tuning*' in the table headings below). This version may be regarded as a zero state, from which other versions can evolve. Therefore, the respective row heading in the tables is given as '*left h. o*'. For diatonic Hypolydian, altogether the following eight tables must be taken into account.

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (-2)

right h.	g	*a*	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	>	>	e'	f'	g	a	bb	b	d'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4			5	5	*12*	*12*	*12*	*13*	*12*

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (-1)

right h.	g	*a*	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	>	e'	f'	g	a	bb	b	d'	e'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4		4	*trt*	*11*	*11*	*trt⁸*	*trt⁸*	*11*	*11*

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (+1)

right h.	g	*a*	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	f'	g	a	bb	b	d'	e'	f'	<
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	2	9	9	9	*10*	9	*9!*	9	

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (+2)

right h.	g	*a*	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h.	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	g	a	bb	b	d'	e'	f'	<	<
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	8	8	*9!*	*9!*	8	8	8		

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (-2), *alternative tuning*

right h.	g	*a*	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h. o	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	>	>	e'	f'	g	a	b	c'	d'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4			5	5	*12*	*12*	*trt⁸*	*12*	*12*

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (-1), alternative tuning

right h.	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h. o	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	>	e'	f'	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4		4	trt	11	11	11	11	11	11

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (+1), alternative tuning

right h.	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h. o	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	f'	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	<
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	2	9	9	9!	9	9	9!	9	

Hypolydian, diatonic, shifted left hand action (+2), alternative tuning

right h.	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	b'	c"	d"	e"	f"	g"	a"
left h. o	d	d'	a'	g'	g'	c'	c'	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	<	<
interv.	4	4	7	5	4	3	4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		

For 'shifted left hand action (-1)', i.e. for parallel fourths and elevenths, the 'alternative tuning' is clearly better, since two instances of trt^8 are avoided. The remaining *trt* occurs in both versions an can be regarded as tolerable. Conversely, the *hormasia* tuning, with *tritē synhēmmenōn* etc., is better for 'shifted left hand action (-2)', i.e. for parallel fifths and twelfths, and for 'shifted left hand action (+1)', i.e. for parallel seconds and ninths. In the first of these cases, an instance of trt^8 is avoided, in the second an instance of *9!* (while the second instance of *9!* is present in both versions). For 'shifted left hand action (+2)', i.e. for octaves, again the 'alternative tuning' is better, since it avoids two instances of *9!* (*bb-b'* and *b-c"*) and thus results in perfect correspondence. The other shifts mentioned—(-2), (-1) and (+1) in their better versions—each include a single element of slight divergence: a minor thirteenth among the twelfths of shift (-2), a tritone besides the fourth of shift (-1) and a minor ninth among the major ones of shift (+1). These divergences could be avoided by re-tuning a single string for particular pieces of music, but they must not be disadvantageous. A divergence from the octave, however, would probably have been understood as a mistake or as an intended dissonance.

Very similar are the results for chromatic Hypolydian, but the superiority of the *hormasia* tuning for shifts (-2) and (+1) is even more evident, as can be

seen in the following tables. Shift (-2) avoids two instances of trt^8, shift (+1) two instances of $9!$. In the latter case, however, two other instances of $9!$ and one of $2!$ remain present, so that the practicability of this shift appears doubtful. Shift (-1) is again better in the 'alternative tuning', but in both tunings an additional trt^8 is present, perhaps tolerable. Above all, shift (-2) in the *hormasia* tuning, with parallel fifths and twelfths, reaches the same high quality as in the case of diatonic Hypolydian. It is not likely that this feature—the practicability of parallel fifths and twelfths in the diatonic and chromatic scales—has contributed to the establishment and choice of the *hormasia* scheme (with *tritē synhēmmenōn*).

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (-2)

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h.	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	>	>	e'	f'	gb	a	bb	b	db'
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4			5	5	12	12	12	12	13

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (-1)

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h.	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	>	e'	f'	gb	a	bb	b	db'	e'
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4		4	trt	trt^8	10	trt^8	trt^8	11	11

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (+1)

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h.	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	f'	gb	a	bb	b	db'	e'	f'	<
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4	2!	10	9	9	9	10	9!	9!	

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (+2)

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h.	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	gb	a	bb	b	db'	e'	f'	<	<
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4	8	8	9!	9!	8	8	8		

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (-2), alternative tuning

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h. o	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	>	>	e'	f'	gb	a	b	c'	db'
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4			5	5	12	12	trt^8	trt^8	13

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (-1), alternative tuning

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h. o	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	>	e'	f'	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4		4	trt	trt^8	10	11	11	11	11

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (+1), alternative tuning

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h. o	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	f'	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	<
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4	2!	10	9	9!	9!	10	9!	9!	

Hypolydian, chromatic, shifted left hand action (+2), alternative tuning

right h.	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	gb'	a'	b'	c"	db"	e"	f"	gb"	a"
left h. o	db	db'	a'	gb'	gb'	c'	c'	gb	a	b	c'	db'	e'	f'	<	<
interv.	4	3	7	trt	4	3	4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		

In the enharmonic scales, shifted parallel play (-1) results in a consonant second voice, as shown in the first section of this article. Shift (-2) and shift (+1) would result mainly in dissonances in these scales, but shift (+2)—with its octaves—becomes practicable in the 'left h. o' tuning.

Finally it must be remarked that in all three genera, shifts (-1) and (+1) leave 8 consecutive notes for parallel play in the left hand row (9 being the number for shift (±0) from the 8th to the 16th note) and that shifts (-2) and (+2) leave only 7 such notes, but this is just enough for heptatonic melodies. If the right hand exceeds this region and moves further to the lower notes, the left hand has to jump back accordingly, turning twelfths into fifths etc. The fact that the compass of the *hormasia* scheme is just sufficient for parallel play with shifts

(-2) and (+2) seems to indicate that these shifts—among others—were really intended, and that this intention has contributed to the design of the scheme.

4   Comparable Examples of Parallel Fifths, Fourths, Seconds and Thirds

Similar to bourdons, as a form of primitive polyphony, parallel song or play can be found still today in many parts of the world, from Iceland to the island of Tierra del Fuego and from Africa to Samoa, but also in the Balkans and the Caucasian region. Rich material for these and other forms of primitive polyphony has been gathered in the book of Schneider, which includes a special part for medieval Europe.[10] Some examples will be discussed below, in particular with respect to analogous features of the *hormasia* scheme.

Before turning to medieval examples, it seems useful to remember the organ of Aquincum dated to 228 AD. This organ, albeit a small instrument, at least technically was capable of automatically producing parallel fifths, fourths, thirds and major seconds, the lowest notes of its four registers being *f, g, a* and *c'* in the reconstruction of Walcker-Mayer (all on the same key, always *lichanos hypatōn*).[11] Since the three lower registers (Phrygian, Lydian and Hyperiastian) have stopped pipes with relatively small diameters, they sound considerably less brilliant than the highest register (Hyperlydian) with its open pipes.[12] Therefore, it is not unlikely that a lower register was combined with the high one, so that parallel fifths, fourths or thirds would arise. Parallel seconds are less likely in this case, since only stopped registers would be involved, but occasionally they may have been used, too.[13] The tuning of the organ is diatonic plus *tritē synhēmmenōn*, as in the preserved *hormasia* table.[14]

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10   Cf. Schneider 1969.

11   Walcker-Mayer 1970, 57 and 78. The reconstruction of Willberg and Braun (2006) essentially exhibits the same system, but the combination of registers is explicitly taken into account, cf. Fényes 2017, 57. This instrument is said to sound well even in full play.

12   Cf. Walcker-Mayer 1970, 58. He describes the sound of the stopped pipes of the three lower registers as "herb, leicht verschleiert und etwas röchelnd", the sound of the open pipes of the high register as "hell, herb mit einer gewissen Schärfe".

13   According to Figure 7 in Walcker-Mayer (1970, 19), two of the four registers, those on *g* and *a*, are opened, while those on *f* and *c'* are closed. If this was the last selection of registers, parallel major seconds were played some time before the instrument was destroyed by fire.

14   It should be noted that the presumed parallel thirds (and tenths) of the *hormasia* scheme are tonally bound, whereas those of the Aquincum organ (on the *a*- and *c'*-registers) are always minor thirds—just as in Istrian improvised two-voice singing.

FIGURE 2   *Musica enchiriadis* (Gerbert 1784, 1, 166)

The old medieval *organum* of Western Europe—the chant characterized by parallel fourths, fifths and octaves, as described in the *Musica enchiriadis* from about 900 AD—certainly got its name from the practice of combining such registers in organ playing.[15] One form is this: a given melody, *cantus* or *vox principalis*, is accompanied by a second voice, *vox organalis* or simply *organum*, which runs a fourth below the first. This second voice can be doubled in the upper octave (so that the doublet runs a fifth above the *vox principalis*), and similarly the first voice can be doubled in the lower octave (so that this doublet runs a fifth below the original *organum*). In this way, altogether 2, 3 or 4 parallel voices may emerge, cf. Figure 2.[16]

This is the scheme of the *diaphonia per diatessaron*, but there is also a *diaphonia per diapente*, which in effect has a fifth in place of the fourth and fourths in place of the fifths, so that finally the fourths prevail in this second scheme, cf. Figure 3.[17]

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15 Cf. Husmann 1962, 221.

16 In Figure 2, T (*tonus*) denotes a whole tone, while S (*semitonium*) denotes a half-tone. The complete sequence near the left margin—read upwards as T-T-S-T-T-T-S-T-T-T-S-T-T-T-S-T— can be represented by the notes *F-G-A-Bb-c-d-e-f-g-a-b-c'-d'-e'-f#'-g'-a'*. This fits perfectly to parallel fifths, parallel octaves, however, suffer from *Bb-b* and *f-f#'*, parallel fourths from *Bb-e, f-b* and *c'-f#'*. But our example will be correct, if the last two instances of T-S are inverted to S-T, so that *b* is replaced by *bb* and *f#'* by *f'*. In Figure 2, next to the column of T's and S's follows a column of *dasia* symbols, which correspond to musical notes. These symbols as well as a number of terminological and structural correspondences and—last but not least—the title *Musica enchiriadis* attest a significant Greek influence.

17 For Figure 3, cf. Gerbert 1784, 1, 167.

```
            do\                                    do\
   T      / mini\                          pe\   fu\
Org.S  Sit\  oria     in\ cula   bitur dominus in o/  ri  /  is.
   T     glo/  do\   fæ/  \  ta/                        bus
   T      / mini\        læ/                     pe    fu\
Princip. Sit\  oria    in\ cula   bitur dominus in o/  ri\  /  is.
         glo/        fæ/  \  ta/                        bus
            do\          læ/
          / mini\                                pe\   fu\
  Org.  Sit\  oria    in\ cula   bitur dominus in o/  ri\  /  is.
         glo/  do\  fæ/  \  ta/                         bus
          / mini\       læ/                      pe\   fu\
Princip. Sit\  oria    in\ cula   bitur dominus in o/  ri\  /  is.
         glo/        fæ/  \  ta/                        bus
                     læ/
```

FIGURE 3 *Musica enchiriadis* (Gerbert 1784, 1, 167)

```
                  maris                     fquali\
   T        mine/      un\          |     tidi/    di\
   T      do/         di            |    ni/          que
   S    li/    maris\   \  ni|        nis/   fquali\       \  li.
   T   cœ/    mine/     un\ fo/ |  ta/    tidi/     di\  fo/
   T  Rex/ cœli do/         di/ | Ty/ tanis ni/          que/
   T
```

FIGURE 4 *Musica enchiriadis* (Gerbert 1784, 1, 169)

All of these schemes (in essence two voices) could easily be performed by improvisation, but there were also deviations from strict parallelism (in particular at the beginning and towards the end of a musical phrase, where the unison was desired), and these deviations probably required a certain training, cf. Figure 4.[18]

Guido of Arezzo (1st half 11th century) explicitly recommends such deviations from the austere parallelism of fourths and fifths in chapters 18/19 of his *Micrologus*,[19] cf. Figures 5, 6 and 7. For this purpose, he excludes the half-tone and fifths, but in addition to fourths, he admits the whole tone and thirds, with minor thirds in the last place.[20] In his last example (Figure 7), we even find *b* (flat) at the side of *b quadratum* in the organal voice—as in the left hand sequence of the *hormasia*.

Somewhat similar to the organal practice described are a few instances of popular improvised two-voice singing which have survived in Iceland, in the

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18   For Figure 4, cf. Gerbert 1784, 1, 169f.
19   *Micrologus*, cf. Gerbert 1784, 2, 21-3.
20   Cf. Gerbert 1784, 2, 21: *semiditonum in his infimatum, diatessaron vero obtinet principatum.*
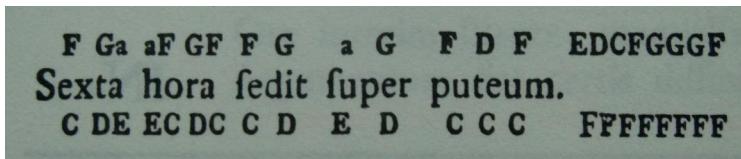
FIGURE 5 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus* (Gerbert 1784, 2, 23)
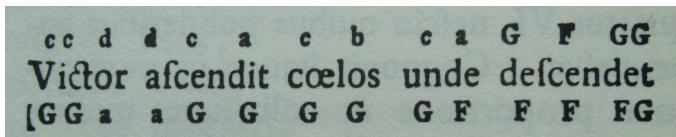
FIGURE 6 Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus* (Gerbert 1784, 2, 23)
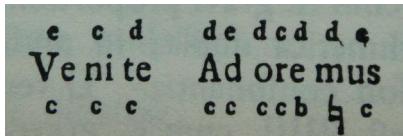
FIGURE 7
Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*
(Gerbert 1784, 2, 23)

Caucasian region and in Jewish songs from Yemen. In the *tvisöngur* of Iceland, for example, we can also observe the crossing of voices caused by a leap to the lower or higher octave (cf. Figure 1). Such features appear in the *hormasia*, too: the crossing of voices, a leap to the lower octave and the occurrence of both fourths and fifths.

The parallel fourths of the faux bourdon appear in combination with thirds or fifths: the principal voice is accompanied by higher fourths and lower thirds or lower fifths. This practice dates from about 1430 (Dufay), and it can occasionally be found until 1500 (Isaac). In the 12th century, in the region of Milano, there was a type of *organum*, which proceeded partially in parallel fourths and partially in parallel seconds. The Office for the Dead, for example, in the interpretation of Stäblein, is the following:[21]
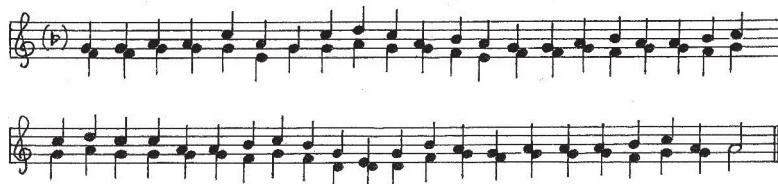
FIGURE 8 Office for the Dead (*De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*), from Milano
(12th century)

21 'Mailänder Totenoffizium', cf. Schneider 1969, 3, Example 20, and Stäblein 1963, 169.

Finally, it should be remarked that improvised parallel fourths (and often parallel fifths) still appear today in more distant regions of the world, in Africa, South-East Asia, Micronesia and Samoa. Furthermore, the Chinese moon-guitar accompanies the flute mainly in parallel lower fourths.[22] Of particular interest are certain panpipes of the Macurap in South America (Indians). These instruments have two parallel rows of pipes tuned in parallel fourths or fifths, and indeed they are played so. Here the second voice is determined by the structure of the instrument—even more strictly than on a psaltery strung according to the *hormasia* scheme. The fourths of the Pontic *lyra* (Turkish *kemençe rumi* or '*Byzantine fiddle*') are sometimes bourdons, but sometimes parallels, as in the following example:[23]
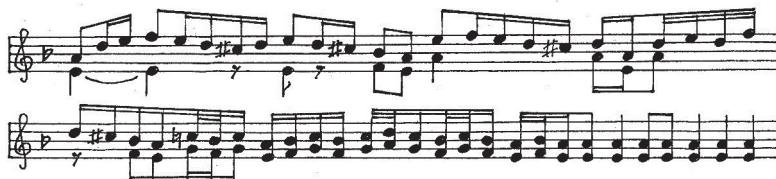
FIGURE 9   Parallel fourths played on the kemençe (north-eastern Turkey)

The fourths and fifths of improvised polyphonic singing in Bulgaria and Macedonia are bourdon-like, i.e. not parallel to the melody. In Macedonia, for example, the second voice, while doubling the words of the first, remains on the tonic key-note, or a second higher or lower, and if a third voice is added, it is sung a fourth below the second.[24] On the other hand, both Bulgaria and Macedonia provide us with examples of parallel seconds.[25] Firfov reports that for the ears of the Macedonian folk singer, parallel intervals, especially major seconds, are extremely pleasant. An example from Bulgaria is given by Schneider:[26]

FIGURE 10   Improvised Bulgarian folk song

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22   Cf. Schneider 1979, 1237-45.
23   Cf. Simon 1996, Example 5, 1770f. See also Reinhard 1968, 368.
24   Cf. Firfov 1958, 370.
25   Cf. Braschowanov 1952, 454; Firfov 1958, 370. Outside Europe, the use of parallel seconds is known from south-eastern Africa, Micronesia and Samoa.
26   Cf. Schneider 1969, 3, Example 2.

Furthermore, parallel seconds—mainly close to minor ones—are played on the *dvojnice* in Bosnia and neighbouring regions.[27] This instrument is a double flute, with two more or less parallel bores in a single piece of wood, about 25 to 45 cm in length. One of the bores, mainly the right one, is furnished with four finger-holes, the other one with three.[28] The three finger-holes of the left bore correspond exactly to the three lower holes of the right bore, while the fourth hole on the right adds a further step to a higher note. All steps are seconds, and most of them are larger than a half-tone and smaller than a whole tone. The step size changes on one and the same instrument, since the pairs of finger-holes are arranged in equal distances, with respect only to easy playability, but irrespective of a fixed tonal system. Furthermore, the step sizes are smaller on longer instruments and vice versa. Now, the most important point is that on both sides the same number of fingers is applied, starting with the index finger at the highest hole, and that the fingers are used in symmetrical correspondence, the right hand being shifted one step upwards. This means (i) that the lowest right hand hole remains always uncovered and serves only as an end hole (or tuning hole), (ii) that normal playing produces chains of parallel seconds and (iii) that these seconds appear highly dissonant to our ears.[29] An example is the following *Radikalno kolo* from Bosnia:[30]


FIGURE 11   Kolo played on a Bosnian dvojnice
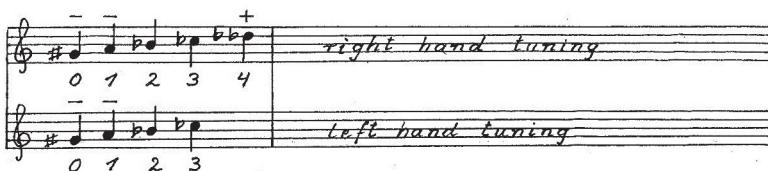
FIGURE 12   Tuning of this dvojnice (right and left hand)

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27   Serbia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia: cf. Brömse 1937, 41-54.

28   In Croatia and Slavonia, there are also instruments, which combine five finger-holes with four on the other side. On these instruments, the fourth finger, too, must be used.

29   Folk song in Bosnia and Hercegovina seems to be influenced by this practice, cf. Rihtman 1958, 374. It must be remarked, however, that in Croatia—probably on account of western influence—the unison and thirds are also produced on the *dvojnice*, although the instrument is obviously designed for shifted parallel play with seconds, cf. Brömse 1937, 50-53.

30   Cf. Brömse 1937, 43. The instrument is one of the longer flutes, with steps of hardly more than a half-tone.

Again we have found a few features, which may be compared with the *hor-masia* scheme: shifted parallel play of both hands, parallel seconds and the acceptance of highly dissonant two-note chords.

Parallel thirds are known from popular song in Africa, Micronesia, Samoa and, of course, from Europe. In medieval Europe, they appear only seldom, since the Pythagorean thirds were not treated as consonances, but, as mentioned above, in the 15th century they were used as part of the faux bourdon. Similarly, they appear in the English practice of adding an improvised *discantus* to a given melody.[31] This practice, called *gymel* (< *gemellus cantus* 'twin-song') in the 15th century, seems to have been in use already in the later 13th century. Furthermore, there is a famous example from the 12th/13th century, the hymn to Magnus Jarl of the Orkney Islands (*Nobilis, humilis*):[32]
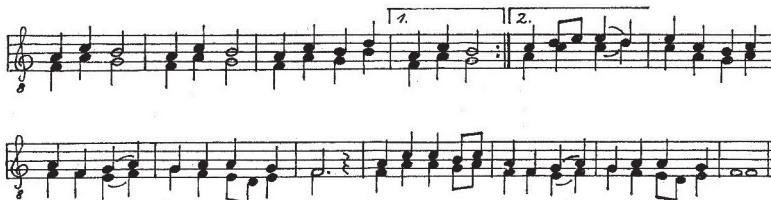
FIGURE 13   Orkney Islands, *Hymn to St. Magnus* (Uppsala, University Library, Ms. C 233)

A second example dates from the 11th/12th century, the alleluia-settings of Chartres:[33]

31   Cf. Lefferts 1995, 1293f. As a rule of thumb, up to 5 parallel thirds or sixths were allowed, but occasionally also longer sequences appeared.

32   Cf. Besseler 1937, 175. The manuscript with the hymn dates from the 13th century, but Magnus Jarl died in 1115. At that time, the Orkney Islands were Norwegian. Cf. Gurvin 1961, Plate 84.

33   Cf. Schneider 1969, 2, Example 101/102, and Schneider 1979, Example 15. According to Schneider 1969, the last but fifteen note of the second voice is *d'* in the Chartres manuscript. In his edition of 1979, the section given here in square brackets is left out and the subsequent two notes of the first voice, *g'* and *f'*, are replaced by *bb'* and *a'* (i.e. by the beginning of the part in brackets). For further examples, cf. Schneider 1969, 2, Examples 103 and 104, Example 147/148 and Example 149/150, all from the same lost manuscript. Cf. also Hughes 1955, 283.

FIGURE 14   Chartres, *Alleluia angelus Domini* (Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 109,
destroyed)

Both of these examples seem to be rather isolated phenomena, and the paral-
lel thirds of the second constitute only short sequences.[34] Thus the presumed
parallel thirds of the *hormasia* scheme can be compared only with the hymn
to St. Magnus, and this hymn is later than 1115, while the codex of the *hormasia*
was written in 1040. The scheme itself seems to be considerably older. It might
be attributed to the period of Gaudentius and the organ of Aquincum, but the
presence of enharmonic scales may be an argument in favour of Hellenistic or
even earlier times, since according to [Plut.] *De mus.* 38—about 100 AD—the
enharmonic *genus* was no longer in use.

5   A Note on Ancient Heterophony

It seems worth mentioning that the interpretation of the *hormasia* as a scheme
for adding an accompaniment to a given melody is compatible with a statement
in [Arist.] *Pr.* 19.39b. It is said there that those who play an accompaniment in
subordination to the principal voice, a procedure called κροῦσις ὑπὸ τὴν ᾠδήν,
at the end come together with this voice (εἰς ταὐτὸν καταστρέφοντες, in unison
or in the octave consonance), but elsewhere play different notes (τὰ ἄλλα οὐ
προσαυλοῦντες). In this way, it is said, they give greater pleasure by the end than
pain with the differences before the end.[35] All this agrees well with extended
parallel play (except in unison and octaves) and with bourdons (includ-
ing also dissonances); bichords often contain the note of the melody, but at

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34   The thirds in the examples of the *Musica enchiriadis* and the *Micrologus* (Guido of
Arezzo) must certainly be regarded as transitional dissonances.

35   For the translation cf. Barker 1989, 95; for the text cf. Jan 1895, 101f.

least the other note differs, and they can be used as changing bourdons. Thus
the methods of accompaniment suggested here for the interpretation of the
hormasia table might even add some substance to the remarks in the *Problems*.
The accompaniment called κροῦσις ὑπὸ τὴν ᾠδήν was said to have been intro-
duced by Crexus, a contemporary of Timotheus and Philoxenus, around
400 BC.[36] Since this was a period of musical innovation in general, the legend
may be trustworthy, but it is also possible that the time of Timotheus was only
a suitable background for establishing the legend of a *prōtos heuretēs*. At least
Crexus seems to have gained some renown with a type of accompaniment that
differed more or less systematically from the principal voice.

Perhaps also Plato's famous passage on heterophony, *Leg*. 812d-e,[37] should be
understood more in the sense of a concise and systematic account of possible
divergences between melody and accompaniment than as a vague and wordy
periphrasis of what today is usually meant by heterophony (i.e. instrumental
decoration, diminution). In fact, Plato seems able to sketch the essential traits
of more or less complex phenomena in one or two sentences, just as in his
short account of Damon's rhythmics (*Resp*. 400b). From this point of view,
heterophony would seem to comprise more or less systematic divergences of
melody and accompaniment with respect to both pitch and duration of simul-
taneous notes, possibly also with respect to a third category described by the
contrast of *pyknotēs* and *manotēs*.[38] As to the *hormasia*, divergences in pitch
are given with all of the methods mentioned, divergences in duration mainly
with bourdons, also changing bourdons, and partially with bichords. Plato's
more general description—"when the strings (of the lyre) emit other notes
than the poet (and singer) of the melody"[39]—appears almost as a definition of
κροῦσις ὑπὸ τὴν ᾠδήν. Plato does not damn it, but he wants to exclude it from
the basic musical education in a three-year course. This shows also that in the
mid fourth century BC heterophony must have been a well-known practice,
and that it was sometimes taught.

In [Arist.] *Pr*. 19.12 and [Plut.] *De mus*. 19 (but mainly in the latter) alto-
gether six examples of simultaneous dissonances and consonances are given,
but without preceding or following notes. Although the dissonance of a whole
tone appears three times and the consonance of a fifth twice, the combinations

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36   Cf. [Plut.] *De mus*. 12 and 28.

37   See Barker 1995.

38   The third aspect could refer to large intervals as opposed to small ones or to many notes
      as opposed to few (this would refer to duration).

39   *Leg*. 812d ἄλλα μὲν μέλη τῶν χορδῶν ἱεισῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τοῦ τὴν μελῳδίαν συνθέντος ποιητοῦ.

Given notes[a]	Interval	Possible realization
[Arist.] *Pr.* 19.12:		
paramesē (*b*) + *mesē* (*a*)	whole tone	*b* with *a-e'*
[Plut.] *De mus.* 19:		
nētē (*e'*) + *paranētē* (*d'*)	whole tone	*e'* with *d-d'*
nētē (*e'*) + *mesē* (*a*)	fifth	*a-e'*
nētē synhēm. (*d'*) + *paranētē* (*c'*), scil. *synhēm.*	whole tone	*c'* with *d-d'*
nētē synhēm. (*d'*) + *paramesē* (*b*)	minor third	*b* with *d-d'*
nētē synhēm. (*d'*) + *lichanos* (*g*)	fifth	*g-d'*

a   The notes given in parentheses refer to diatonic Hypolydian only.

of the notes given must certainly not be understood as parts of parallel movements, but as individual instances of heterophony. With respect to the *hormasia* this means that—in the case of compatibility—they should occur in connection with bourdons, changing bourdons or proper chordal accompaniment, i.e. in connection with one of the basic or complementary chords. For a check of compatibility, or partial compatibility, it seems sufficient to regard diatonic Hypolydian here, with *d-d'*, *d'-a'* and *c'-g'* as basic chords and *g-d'*, *a-e'* and *bb-f'* as complementary chords. In the table above, these chords are used to produce the six dissonances and consonances given by Ps.-Aristotle and Ps.-Plutarch.

The table attests to a certain compatibility, but not a perfect one. In particular, it suffers from the presence of a third note in all cases of dissonance (whole tone, minor third), while our texts mention only pairs of notes throughout. Of course, the third note (*e'* in *a-e'* and *d* in *d-d'*) could be left out—in contradiction to our suggestion of two-note chords, both basic and complementary ones. It is also possible that the sources, or source, of Ps.-Aristotle and Ps.-Plutarch did not mention the third note for the sake of didactic simplicity; it is more likely, however, that they really referred to a form of heterophony with two simultaneous notes only. This form may have been the prevailing or even the only one in the fourth century BC, the presumed date of the sources of Ps.-Aristotle and Ps.-Plutarch.[40] From this point of view, the two-note chords

40   The treatise of Ps.-Plutarch was compiled for the very most part from sources of the fourth century BC, about two thirds alone from Aristoxenus and Heraclides Ponticus, cf. Barker 1984, 205. The *Problems* of Ps.-Aristotle, except the later additions, may have been

suggested here for the *hormasia* scheme would reflect a somewhat later stage of development.

Since the preserved music from antiquity regularly gives the notes for one voice only, it must be assumed that heterophony was a matter of improvisation. This seems to be implied in a remark of Hilary, bishop of Poitiers in the fourth century AD. In his *Tractatus super psalmos*, 65, 1, he writes: *fitque ex inparibus ac dissimilibus modis artificis ingenio apta et consonans et amoena modulatio*, "and from unequal and dissimilar melodies results—by the skill of the artist—a well adapted, consonant and pleasant music". The methods suggested here for the interpretation of the *hormasia* table indeed seem to fulfill the requirements of improvisation: bourdons, parallel melodies and accompaniment by three two-note chords.

6   Concluding Remarks

The restored *hormasia* tables, from diatonic Hyperlydian to enharmonic Hyperiastian, depend largely on the assumption that they are bound to the pitch of the preserved Hypolydian table as far as possible. This assumption explains why diatonic Hyperaiolian occurs twice in the list, and it is favourable for musical practice, since all the scales listed could be used on the same stringed instrument. Also the results appear acceptable. Nevertheless, this assumption is only one of several possibilities. A different assumption—just the opposite one—might aim at the retention not of the pitch, but of the functional aspects of the Hypolydian table. This assumption would result in simple transpositions, plus the necessary adaption of movable notes in the chromatic and enharmonic scales. The pitch would then vary within the range of a minor ninth, between Hyperlydian and Hypoiastian. This method leads to well-defined results, but it cannot explain the double occurrence of diatonic Hyperaiolian.

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gathered around 300 BC, cf. Barker (1989, 85), but there are also arguments for a date in the mid third century BC. Anyway, the source of our passage from the *Problems* may well be a treatise of the fourth century.

A third method might be to retain selected functions of the Hypolydian table at the cost of moderate changes in pitch. An example may be the substitution of the basic chords of diatonic Hypolydian—*d-d'*, *d'-a'* and *c'-g'*—by 'functional equivalents', for example by *B-b*, *b-f#'* and *a-e'* in diatonic Hyperiastian and by *c#-c#'*, *c#'-g#'* and *b-f#'* in diatonic Hyperaiolian.[41] The results of this third method are still deducible for the most part, but the method includes a few more or less arbitrary decisions. Thus it marks the border to a wide field of more and more speculative models.

Perhaps we must assume that the (Hypolydian) *hormasia* scheme was not the only method of *krousis hypo tēn ōidēn* and that, especially in the first half of the fourth century BC, various experiments were made and various schemes were developed. Parts of these may have been incorporated in the lost tables, but if so, they cannot be recovered. At any rate, the *hormasia* scheme seems to have been one of the more successful models. The tables from diatonic Hyperlydian to enharmonic Hyperiastian, as restored in the present article, obviously remain hypothetical, but at least they show that the suggested interpretation of the preserved Hypolydian table is compatible with the existence of similar tables for the scales listed on the right margin of the manuscript.

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41   More problematic are the non-diatonic scales here, but *Bb-bb*, *bb-f#'* and *g#-eb'* might fit for chromatic Hypoiastian, *c-c'*, *c'-g'* and *db'-ab'* for enharmonic Hyperphrygian and *B-b*, *b-f#'* and *c'-g'* for enharmonic Hyperiastian. The Lydian scales need not to be changed in this context.

7   Appendix

FIGURE 15   The restored tables in modern notation (black notes for right hand, white notes for left hand. Notes without individual accidentals correspond to the general ones after the treble clef).

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BRILL

Λελεγίζω: An Obscure Verb

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Abstract

The rare verb λελεγίζω is glossed as τὸ κιθαρίζω by Byzantine lexicographers. This paper discusses the form and meaning of λελεγίζω from the perspective of musical terminology, such as its relation to the verbs λαλέω and λαλαγέω or to -ίζω verbs derived from ethnic names. I propose that the most likely interpretation of λελεγίζω is that it means 'to play the *kithara* in the Lelegian manner'.

Keywords

The Byzantine lexicographers preserve many unusual words related to musical matters. Some of these words are so rare that they are not listed in the standard modern lexica and have not been examined by modern scholars. In what follows I discuss the interpretation of one such word.

The verb λελεγίζω is attested only twice. The ninth-century grammarian Theognostus gives this definition of it in his *Canones* (27 = 9.28 Cramer): λελεγίζω, τὸ κιθαρίζω.[1] The same definition is also found in one of the manuscripts of the thirteenth-century lexicon attributed to Ps.-Zonaras (λ 1300.4 Tittmann): †λελεγίζω. τὸ κιθαρίζω†.[2] On the word Tittmann commented "ignota vox Lexicis".[3]

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1 Cramer 1835; cf. Alpers 1964.
2 The cruces indicate that the text of this definition is transmitted only in ms. K, the apographon *Kulenkampianum*: see Tittmann 1808, xxii.
3 Tittmann 1808, 1300.

This verb has been little discussed. In the revised edition of Stephanus, *ThGL* v col. 181, λελεγίζω is translated according to the gloss: "cithara cano".[4] A similar approach is taken by Unger, who explains: "λελεγίζω τὸ κιθαρίζω bei Theognost. d. i. ψοφῶ, wie ψόφος κιθάρας".[5] The verb is listed without explanation in the additions to Kretschmer-Locker.[6] It appears in no modern lexicon or dictionary and its form and meaning have not received attention.

The form of the verb has close parallels in words such as λαλέω and λαλαγέω. These originally referred to the production of inarticulate verbal sounds, but eventually came to be applied to the sounds produced in instrumental performance on the pipes (Theoc. 20.29; [Arist.] *Aud.* 801a29) and the *kithara* (Ach.Tat. 2.14.8, 8.6.6), as well as other instruments.[7] This usage continued into the Byzantine period, where examples can be found for the *aulos* (Hesych. *Serm.* 13.2.4-5; [Mac.] *Serm.* 47.190), *salpinx* (Anonyma Cretica, *Ζήνων* 2.8.403), drums (*Historia Alexandri Magni Recensio Poetica*, *recensio R*, 846), and *kithara* (*Schol. in Ar. Av.* 682). It is tempting to suppose that λελεγίζω is a late Byzantine vulgarism of λαλαγέω. In the Byzantine period the verbal suffix in -ίζειν became particularly popular and was often used for words related to sound-production.[8] However, in the case of λελεγίζω it is difficult to account for the presence of λελε- here rather than λαλα-. Elsewhere the form λελέγιες is found in a very different sense, 'pebbles', at Hsch. λ 603 Latte λελέγιες· κόχλακες, ἢ κοχλώδεις τόποι (in fact, Unger proposes that κόχλακες is itself derived from a verb of sound-production, καχλάζειν, 'plätschern, klatschen', according to which hypothesis the pebbles are named after the sound they make).[9] Textual corruption is omnipresent in the works of Theognostus and Ps.-Zonaras, and it would be easy to emend λελεγίζω to something like λαλαγίζω (i.e. λαλαγέω with a Byzantine verbal suffix in -ίζειν). Nonetheless, a different interpretation of the verb is also possible.

In Theognostus the definition of λελεγίζω is immediately followed by Λέλεξ ὄνομα ἔθνους, and this provides a clue to another explanation of λελεγίζω. The name Λέλεξ refers to the leader of a people known as the Λέλεγες; they are

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4   Stephanus 1842, 181.

5   Unger 1863, 726.

6   Kisser 1963, 715.

7   Rocconi 2003, 40 n. 213, 82 n. 503, 85 n. 527, 86 n. 531.

8   Debrunner 1917, 132: "Schallwörter sind bei -ίζειν ... man vergleiche primäre Verba wie τρίζειν ..., κρίζειν ... und Denominativa wie σαλπίζειν ... φορμίζειν ... συρίζω" (at 133 Debrunner gives more examples of this verbal suffix with the sense 'ein Instrument spielen', such as κιθαρίζειν, μαγαδίζειν, βλιτυρίζεσθαι, τυμπανίζειν, and λυρίζειν). The Byzantine fondness for this verbal suffix is discussed in Bühler 2007, 347-9.

9   Unger 1863, 725.

mentioned often in classical Greek sources as the semi-mythical people who originated in Caria but later inhabited the coasts of the Aegean.[10] The form λελεγίζω can be interpreted as having the root λελεγ- derived from the ethnic name of the Λέλεγες. Similar verbs of this type formed from ethnic names include δωρίζω, αἰολίζω, λυδίζω, ἰάζω, θετταλίζω, καρίζω, κρητίζω, μακεδονίζω, and ἑλληνίζω (among many others). The linguistic phenomenon whereby an ethnic name is turned into a verb in -ίζειν is also mentioned in passing by St.Byz. ε 87 Billerbeck Ἐορδιστής ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐορδίζω ὡς Λυδός λυδίζω <Λυδισταί>. The formation of the verb λελεγίζω from Λέλεξ/Λέλεγες thus finds very close parallels elsewhere.

The gloss τὸ κιθαρίζω is one of the most curious things about the lemmata in Ps.-Zonaras and Theognostus. Commonly verbs in -ίζειν that are derived from an ethnic name mean, for example, 'to speak (or write) in the Doric dialect' or the like: see, for instance, Ap. Dysc. *Synt.* 399.8-9 Uhlig τό γε μὴν αἰολίζεται τὰ Ἀλκαίου ποιήματα, δωρίζεται τὰ Ἀλκμᾶνος. In our case, however, a musical context is required. The nearest parallel for this is Pratinas *TrGF* 1 F6, where the verb αἰολίζω means 'to play (or compose) music in the Aeolian mode (or style)': μήτε σύντονον δίωκε / μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν {Ἰαστὶ} / μοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν / νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει. Another example of this usage is attested in Theophrastus, fr. 718 Fortenbaugh, where σικελίζειν means 'to dance' or 'to dance while playing the *aulos*',[11] though the word literally means 'to do in a Sicilian manner'. Commenting on this specific usage of σικελίζειν, Eustathius explains, τὸ ὀρχεῖσθαι σικελίζειν ... διὰ τὸ δηλαδὴ ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιχωριάζειν τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, and then lists dances named after different ethnic terms: καὶ ὅτι ὀρχήσεις διάφοροι ἐθνικαί. οἷον. Λακωνικαί. Τροιζηνιακαί, Ἐπιζεφύριοι. Κρητικαί. Ἰωνικαί. Μαντινειακαὶ προκρινόμεναι διὰ τὴν χειρῶν κίνησιν (Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 1.306 van der Valk). Evidently, verbs in -ίζειν formed from ethnic names were sometimes associated with local varieties of music.[12]

According to this interpretation, λελεγίζω would mean 'to play (the *kithara*) in the Lelegian style' (taking into account the gloss κιθαρίζω), or literally 'to do in the Lelegian manner'. The music of the Leleges is not otherwise mentioned by ancient sources, but so much of the ancient literature on Greek musical customs is lost that this is not a fatal objection, and we may imagine that this verb comes from some lost historical description. The Leleges were

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10   A detailed discussion of the sources is Deimling 1862. A useful summary can be consulted in Fowler 2013, 96-100.

11   Raffa 2018, 78f.

12   On epichoric music, see Lynch/Prodi 2009; Barker 2018. I have elsewhere considered some lines of inquiry into the use of ethnic names as applied to local music (see Panegyres 2017).

known for having their own distinct cultural identity (separate from but closely related to that of the Carians),[13] and it would not be surprising if a particular type of musical style were associated with them.

Which of these two interpretations of λελεγίζω is preferable? The first is more difficult, as the relationship between the forms λελε- and λαλα- is not absolutely certain; more evidence is needed to confirm it. The second interpretation is well supported with respect to the form of the word, as there are many close parallels for such verbs formed from ethnic names.

Absolute certainty in such matters is not obtainable, and some degree of speculation cannot be avoided. All that we can do is explore every possible interpretation of the unusual words that we encounter. The study of musical terminology in Byzantine lexicons throws up many interesting questions and curiosities, and it is to be hoped that more scholars undertake work in this area of study.

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13   For emphasis of this point, see Unwin 2017, at 4, 38, 57f. and 68.

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BRILL

New Voices in Ancient Music
A Report on 'The Graduate Workshop in Ancient Greek and Roman Music' (*Oxford, 28 June 2018*)

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Abstract

This report provides a conspectus of the nine papers presented at 'The Graduate Workshop in Ancient Greek and Roman Music', held at the University of Oxford in June 2018. The workshop was organised with the intent of showcasing the innovative work of postgraduates in the field of ancient Greek and Roman music. Based around the themes of theory and practice, drama, and ritual, the papers reflect current areas of focus within the field and suggest promising avenues for further enquiry.

Keywords

Greek music – Roman music – theory – drama – ritual – reception

In June 2018, a group of postgraduate students and academics gathered for a one-day workshop hosted in the Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies at the University of Oxford. The workshop was conceived with three aims in mind: firstly, to provide a platform for original student research in the burgeoning field of Greek and Roman musical studies; secondly, to stimulate

dialogue between junior researchers and established academics; and thirdly, to encourage future collaboration on both an interdisciplinary and international level. Nine speakers, representing institutions in the UK, US, and Italy, presented papers which explored musical themes in the context of recent trends in classical philology, archaeology, historiography, anthropology and reception studies. This report will summarise the content of the papers presented as part of the workshop and will conclude with a few words of acknowledgement.

The workshop began with a keynote address from Professor Armand D'Angour, entitled *The Orestes Fragment and Tonality in Ancient Greek Music*. Prof. D'Angour shared some of his most recent work on the reconstruction of *P. Vind.* G 2315, which famously preserves a few strains of choral song from Euripides' *Orestes* (Pöhlmann/West 2001 [*DAGM*], no. 3). The papyrus has been known and widely discussed since 1890, but Prof. D'Angour's work makes use of dramatic advances made in recent years by Lynch, Hagel, and himself in order to reconstruct the tonal structure of this precious fragment.[1] Near the end of his talk, Prof. D'Angour argued that more precise understanding of this notation can reveal a continuous harmonic tradition reaching from the Classical to the Roman Imperial period and perhaps even on into the earliest extant music of the Christian church. This arresting possibility surely points the way towards major new findings to come.

The first panel, 'Music between Theory and Practice', featured papers which explored the porous boundaries between musicological abstraction and the practical realities of performance. Alex Wilson presented some exciting first fruits from an ethnographic study of musical terminology—*Music and Ethnicity in Pindar's Epinicians* demonstrated how modal classifications can be rhetorically leveraged for their sociocultural implications just as much as for their technical features. Andrea Granvillano's *Plutarch and the Concord* Emmeles illustrated how, by paying detailed attention to the fluctuation between technical and colloquial applications of a single musical term, scholars can add nuance to their understanding of musical language beyond what is typically found in the lexica. Finally, Thyra-Lilja Altunin pointed the way in *Homeric Performance and the Scholia* towards further study of pitch-accentuation in Homeric papyri, using the 'Bankes papyrus' (*P. Lond. Lit.* 28) as an illustrative example. The findings presented suggest that there is much promising work to be done uniting 'scholarly' ancient treatments of music with the lived *Realien* from which they are often kept artificially separate in modern scholarship.

The papers featured in the second panel were grouped under the heading 'Music and Drama'. Emmanuel Aprilakis examined the role of sound, speech,

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1   Lynch 2016; Hagel 2010; D'Angour 2016, 2017.

and assonance in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Focusing on Athena's entrance speech at ll. 566-73, he highlighted how the use of sound effects in this passage serves to underscore the central theme of justice in the play, lending weight to Aeschylus' metatheatrical allusions to contemporary Athenian politics. Sophie Chavarria gave a wide-ranging paper on female performers (or *scaenicae*) in Late Republican Rome, considering musicians alongside dancers and mime-actresses. Although these performers are negatively stereotyped in the ancient literary sources, Chavarria showed through close examination of textual and material evidence that they in fact enjoyed a level of social prestige and a personal agency denied to many Roman women in this period. In the final paper, Giovanna Casali investigated the reception of ancient Greek music in modern Italian drama, using as a case study the collaboration between the philologist Ettore Romagnoli and the composer Giuseppe Mulè in the early twentieth century. By analysing excerpts from Mulè's musical scores, Casali illustrated how the composer's idiosyncratic method was influenced by Romagnoli's pioneering research on ancient Greek *tonoi* and tetrachords.

The third panel looked at 'Music in Ritual and Religion', and really highlighted the breadth of interest in this field, ranging from the prehistoric to the late antique. Paola Budano explored the much-debated late Epigravettian engravings of the Grotta dell'Addaura (c. 14,000-10,000 BP), the only evidence for prehistoric performance in Sicily, in *Dancers in the Addaura Cave*. The engraving shows seven figures dancing around two prostrate figures, with a number of onlookers. By applying art historical and anthropological methodologies, Paola Budano interpreted the scene as a *rite de passage* (either from childhood to adulthood or from life to death), focusing on how music would have played a key role in such a rite. In her paper *Et bene mihi erat cum eis: The Place of Music in Late Antique Life-Writing*, Ella Kirsh examined the attribution of the invention of antiphonal psalmody to Ambrose of Milan in 386 CE, and why writers such as Augustine and Paulinus saw this invention as important. Ella Kirsh showed how the attribution was likely false, but that music (and the Christian innovation of it) acted as a key theme through which these early life-writers explored the boundaries of the Classical and the Christian.

The organisers wish to thank all those who participated in the workshop, especially Prof. Armand D'Angour for delivering the keynote address and Prof. Felix Budelmann, Prof. Scott Scullion and Dr Tosca Lynch for chairing the panel discussions. The event was generously sponsored by Magdalen College, Oxford, the Faculty of Classics, Oxford, and the MOISA Society. On the evidence of the papers outlined above, the future of ancient musical studies looks very bright indeed.

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BRILL

Sounds on Stage: Musical and Vocal Languages and Experiences

Insights from a Graduate Conference (L'Aquila, 14-16 November 2018)

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Abstract

The twenty-four papers delivered at the graduate conference entitled "Sounds on Stage: Musical and Vocal Languages and Experiences" (L'Aquila, 14-16 November 2018) investigated the relationship between music and theatrical performances from a comparative perspective. The presentations dealt with the role of music in several theatrical genres from different cultures and times: ancient Greek drama, musical theater (especially opera), modern and contemporary theater and ancient ritual Sanskrit drama.

Keywords

musical performance – ancient Greek music – opera – musical drama – modern theater – New musical theater – Sanskrit theater – performance studies – sound

1   Introduction

In November 2018 the University of L'Aquila, in cooperation with "MOISA: The International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage", hosted the fourth of a series of graduate conferences organized since 2013 by Maria Arpaia (University of Naples "L'Orientale", Italy) and Angela Albanese (University of Verona, Italy) with the aim of examining the multi-coding character of the theatrical languages from a comparative perspective.[1]

The Conference was one of the activities planned by the Department of Human Sciences of the University of L'Aquila in the research project entitled "Arts, Languages and Media: Translation and Transdecodification". The Department has been selected by the Italian Ministry for University and Research (MIUR) as one of the "Departments of Excellence" in Italy.

This most recent graduate conference in the series was devoted to the relationships between sound—considered as an organized *summa* of aural messages perceived by the audience[2]—and all the other components of a theatrical event, such as text, visual elements and the bodily movements of performers within the scenic space.[3] Indeed, theatrical performances are a multimedia experience because of their performative nature: the verbal, auditory and visual elements they contain aim at reinforcing the multi-sensorial perception of the spectator, whose emotions are stimulated by means of different languages, combined together and interacting with each other. Auditory components are essential to the action on stage: whether present or not, organized in a musical score, articulated in noises or as vocal performances, sounds on stage stir feelings thanks to their alogical and intuitive nature.[4] This conference focused on identifying interactions between auditory and visual elements in performances far from each other in time and in space—ancient Greek drama, opera, modern and contemporary theater and oriental drama—with the purpose of discovering how the function and the communicative purposes of music change over time in accordance with culture.

2   Ancient Greek and Roman Theater and Its Musical Languages

The conference's first session aimed at investigating how ancient classical drama developed the rhythmical and musical aspects of both choral and solo performances, as well as at identifying the relationship between these auditory components and the narrative structure of the plays. Eleonora Rocconi (University of Pavia) devoted her keynote lecture ("Music and Word in Ancient Greek Drama: Themes and Research Perspectives") to two main aspects. First, she summarized the most recent scholarly contributions to the topic identifying three main tendencies in criticism: 1) the analysis of the metrical aspects of the surviving plays, through which we are able to determine which parts of them

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goes to Vera Cantoni (University of Pavia, Italy), who organized the third of this series of graduate conferences in 2016, entitled "Semiotic Elements of the Speeches on the Stage".

2   See Pavis 2004, 175.

3   Since their beginning, *Performative Studies* focused on the concept of performance as a total event, lived as a corporeal, spatial and auditory experience (see Fischer-Lichte 2004).

4   See Barker 2005.

were sung and which spoken;[5] 2) the identification of other poetic genres (especially choral)[6] echoed and adapted on stage; and 3) last, but not least, the study of musical imagery in tragic poetry, used by some authors to reinforce dramatic narrative and affect the emotional experience of the audience.[7] Then, she discussed a specific case-study that illustrates the peculiarity of interactions between music and words in ancient theatrical communication: Euripides' *Bacchae*, a tragedy in which music is employed as an 'emotional marker' experienced by the audience in correspondence with salient moments of the plot. The play develops a specific narrative in relation to Dionysian rituals, during which music was fundamental (as we are told by Aristotle)[8] in arousing enthusiasm: this is why we find numerous allusions to Bacchic musical instruments, such as the *aulos* and *tympana*, in correspondence with Dionysus' invocation by his female followers, the maenads.[9] In fact, in the first part of the play the meter is mainly ionic, a rhythm characteristic of the Dionysian cult, employed in choral songs until the end of the second stasimon (after which it will no longer be necessary to invoke the god's arrival, which occurs at the beginning of the third episode, when Dionysus shouts from offstage). In the second part, the structure of choral songs gradually tends to become simpler and the verse switches to dochmiacs, as the allusions to the Dionysian ritual decrease and the enthusiasm of the Chorus gives way to piety (*eleos*) for Agave's character.

The value of the psychological aspect of ancient music was also discussed by Maria Arpaia, (University of Naples "L'Orientale"), whose paper ("The Psychagogic Effect of the Musical Language in Ancient Drama: An Analysis of the *Eumenides'* Chorus") evaluated the role of the tragic Chorus in the narrative structure of the drama and its psychagogic consequences on the audience's emotions. In Greek tragedy, the dramatist communicates moral and cultural values to the citizens by skillfully controlling individual and collective emotions.[10]

Tragedy offers intensified scenarios, in which the Chorus takes on a particularly powerful role, illustrating how emotions operate. By performing songs and dances, the Chorus enacts, triggers and theorizes pity and fear, which are the main emotions instantiated in the plays. The communal nature of choral performance allows the audience to identify with its pathos through

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5   See, for example, De Poli 2013.

6   See, among many others, Perusino/Colantonio 2007; Rodighiero 2012; Nooter 2012.

7   E.g. Weiss 2017.

8   Arist. *Pol.* 1340a11f., 1342a4-18, 1342b1-6.

9   See, e.g., Eur. *Bacch.* 58-61; 120-34; 144-66.

10   For more details about the power of collective emotions and its consequences regarding the political life of the *polis* see Lanza 1997; Visvardi 2015.

sympathy, which is the ability of the mind to communicate and stimulate similar feelings. This kind of emotional identification allows the Chorus to direct the emotions of the audience by developing the right emotional dispositions where the emotions are amenable to reason. So the Chorus has a paradigmatic function in the spectator's process of acquiring virtuous feelings. This role also has a civic function because it aims at controlling the emotional excess in citizens while also teaching them to respect the system of values of the *polis* it portrays. The most exemplary case of this collective control of the emotions is the Aeschylean Chorus of the Erinyes, who personify Orestes' guilt and constitute the instrument with which Aeschylus educates the polis. The feeling of fear they inspire invites the audience to reject the ancient system of values based on personal revenge in order to achieve the ordered civic life established by the Areopagus, the tribunal founded by Athena. The appearances of the Furies are characterized by a rousing musical rhythm and a faster dance, which also influences the rhetorical aspect of their songs.[11] Most of their choral performances are followed by scenes featuring Apollo or Athena. These gods are characterized by rationality and order, and their presence on stage tends to counterbalance the excess of pathos of the choral songs.[12] In this way the spectators are led by the alternate succession of feelings in the tragedy to regulate their emotional reactions so as to rationally re-elaborate those feelings which could be very dangerous for the civic state.

Regarding the ancient practice of inserting other poetic genres in choral songs, Antonella Fusari (University of L'Aquila) focused on the presence of lyric poetry, in particular cult songs, in the *Thesmophoriazusae* by Aristophanes ("Melic Poetry in Drama. The Hymns in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*"). This comedy, which takes place during the festival in honor of Demeter, is particularly suitable for this study because of the great concentration of cult hymns it features. The first passage of the lyric is sung by the tragic poet Agathon in the opening scene of the play.[13] The song—a hymn thought to be performed by a dancing Chorus—begins with a reference to the chthonic deities and then addresses the Delian trinity, that is Apollo, Artemis and Leto. Although its context is ridiculous, the structure of the hymn is traditional and

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11   The text of the first stasimon, for example, is in iambo-dochmiac meter and features plenty of interjections, a fragmented syntax and a tendency to duplication on a syntactic, phonic-symbolic, rhythmic-musical level. See Aesch. *Eu.* 143 (ἰοὺ ἰού), 145 (ὦ πόποι), 149 (ἰώ), 140 (ἔγειρ' ἔγειρε), the iteration of ἐπάθομεν (143), the duplication of the preposition ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν (145 and 159), περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα (165), and finally the repetition of similar sounds δαῖου δαμίου (160), βαρύ τι περίβαρυ (161).

12   Aesch. *Eu.* 179-84, 396-408.

13   Ar. *Th.* 101-29.

its text is neither parodic nor comical. Likewise, the second lyric hymn is a seri-
ous cult song, performed by the Chorus of women congregated in the precinct
of Demeter and Kore.[14] They implore Athena, Poseidon and the Olympian dei-
ties to come and join them. The third hymn, addressed to all the gods, is the
longest one[15] and it conveys the mood of the Athenians celebrating the gods
by means of many specific references to the Chorus' own dancing. Finally, in
the last choral text which qualifies as a hymn,[16] the women pray in an elaborate
manner to Athena, Demeter and Kore to come to the sanctuary where the fes-
tival is celebrated. As specimens of serious cult songs, the four hymns mark a
visible difference from the part of the comedy in which the comic action is pre-
sented: during these interludes the action is interrupted and they have nothing
to do with the fun of the preceding and following scenes. They preserve all
the characteristics of traditional lyric hymns and tend to retain the reverent
tone typical of the genre, suggesting actual worship. In other words, the four
lyric hymns "form as it were a 'hymnic microcosm' within the 'macrocosm' of
the comedy as a whole".[17] However, although this melic poetry is somewhat
detached from the dramatic action, it does not seem to be completely discon-
nected from its frame, but establishes an ambivalent relationship with it.

Anna Maganuco (University of Verona) also investigated the insertion of
other lyric genres in the choral songs of ancient drama ("Unexpected Joy and
Unbridled Dances on Stage: Are They All Hyporchematic Songs?"). Scholars
usually talk about 'hyporchematic *stasima*' whenever the Chorus, deceived by
a cheerful announcement, rejoice and celebrate with lively dances just before
the catastrophe of the tragic plot takes place.[18] Maganuco argued that such a
definition can be misleading, because it does not refer to the hyporcheme as
a lyric genre, and proposed that a choral performance in tragedy should be
identified as 'hyporchematic' on the basis of what we know about this archaic
choral genre. There is common agreement[19] that, in its ritual context, the
hyporcheme was a song addressed to gods characterized by a close connection
between the chanted text and the accompanying dance, as performers repro-
duced in their movements the actions described through their words. So, if a
tragic choral song features invocations to the gods, explicit references to dance
moves, the accompaniment of the *aulos*, and hyporchematic meters (e.g. cre-
tics, iambs, trochees, dochmiacs), we can rightly call it 'hyporchematic'. These

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14   Ar. *Th.* 312-30.
15   Ar. *Th.* 947-1000.
16   Ar. *Th.* 1136-59.
17   Cf. Furley/Bremer 2001, 361.
18   On the use of the term 'hyporcheme' in tragic contexts, see e.g. Dale 1950.
19   See Di Marco 1973-1974; Recchia 2017.

elements all make an appearance in Soph. *Trach.* 205-24—a choral interlude we can quite rightly define as 'hyporchematic'—but not in Eur. *El.* 859-65 ~ 873-9, a song that is nonetheless described as 'a true hyporcheme': Orestes' coronation scene after the murder of Aegisthus is actually accompanied by a choral song and a festive dance, but every element in the scene (the occasion, the semantic field of victory and competition, the metrical pattern of κατ᾽ἐνόπλιον-epitrites) suggests a kind of performance typical of the *epinikion*.

The dialectic between metrical and performative aspects of drama was investigated by Giorgia Bandini (University of Urbino "Carlo Bo") in her paper "Auditory and Performative Traces in Plautus' *Cantica*". The musical score can serve a narrative function, in particular in those comedies where Plautus introduced twin characters to develop the 'double motif' of his poetry. In *Amphitruo*, Amphitryon and Sosia sing, whereas Jupiter and Mercury never do so in the guise of the two humans. In *Menaechmi*, one of the two twins sings while the other one plays. Moreover, the rhythmical score can provide information concerning the play's performance. A change in the *metra* can mark the shift from a solo to a duet. For example, in a *canticum* of the *Aulularia* (ll. 120-34) the solo of Eunomia is in bacchiac meter, whereas the duet with her brother is in iambic meter (dimetri and quaternarii). The change in musical rhythm also signals a change of theme. In the *aria* of Eunomia, the focus is on fraternal love and the support this feeling gives to both parties, while the tone of the scene where Eunomia quarrels with her brother is funny because of a series of misunderstandings. Furthermore, in the *Captiui,* the monadic of the parasite Ergasilus is iambic-trocaic (768-80), so the entrance of the senex Egione (l. 781), in bacchiac meter, seems to be, once again, accompanied by a change of rhythm.

The relationship between music and text was analyzed also in the reflections of Alessio Faedda (University of Cagliari), who examined the phenomenon of the homometric occurrences in ancient Greek drama ("Petrarch, De Rore and the Greek Theater of the 5th Century. Some Examples of Homometric Occurrences"). This phenomenon consists in the repetition of verbal forms, nouns and adverbs in the same metrical position in different verses so as to create a verbal and thematic symmetry.[20] These repetitions are usually in a strong position, accentuated by the metrical recurrence. In fact, they sometimes have the same or the opposite meaning, or they are composed with similar verbal roots that produce an echo effect in the script. This phenomenon is widespread in monodic and choral lyric poetry, but is less common in tragic choral texts, where it underlines key concepts or creates sound effects. For example,

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20   See Irigoin 1988; Wahlström 1970; Steinrück 2011; Gentili/Lomiento 2003.

the choral songs of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* contain a complicated system of repetitions, including some homometric occurrences, such as in the strophe and antistrophe 2 of the first stasimon (πάρεστι ~ πάρεστι and ἔχειν ~ ἔχειν, ll. 16of. and 166f.). In this way, the text reflects the agitation of the Furies on stage and their insistence upon an archaic, violent and bloody justice, and it amplifies the feeling of fear experienced by the audience at the sight of them.[21] In Sophocles' and Euripides' poetry, the isometric occurrences underline the keywords of the choral songs.[22] In the first stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone*, the Chorus praises the progress of the human race in acquiring technical knowledge including the skill of navigation (ll. 332-75); the keyword πόντου appears in the same metrical position (ll. 335 ~ 345), relating strophe and antistrophe through a homometric occurrence. This progress, however, is conditioned by men's respect for divine law, as shown by another homometric occurrence in the same stasimon (παντόπορος· ἄπορος ~ ὑψίπολις· ἄπολις, ll. 360 ~ 370, *3tr*, which share the same accentual pattern). In the first stasimon of Euripides' *Medea*, the Chorus complains about the condition of women in Greek society. The homometric occurrence is at the center of the second strophe (λέκτρον ~ λέκτρων, ll. 437 and 444), and underlines the centrality of marriage in the life of women, for whom the marital bed is the most important element of their life. The same correspondence between metrical scheme and the themes of the text can be found in madrigals. In the reworked version of Petrarch's sonnet *Datemi pace, o duri miei pensieri*, Cipriano de Rore (1515-1565) chooses the same harmonic treatment for the anaphora of lines 9f., which appears in the same metrical position in l. 13, in order to amplify the sound effect and the semantic relevance of the repetition.

The elements of performance implied in dramatic texts were analyzed also by Ettore Romagnoli, whose innovative studies about meter and its relationship with acting were implemented in modern stagings of ancient Greek drama. Romagnoli was one of the founders of the National Institute of Ancient Drama (INDA) and directed many productions at the Greek theater of Siracuse during his five years as artistic director. Sara Troiani (University of Trento) examined some of Romagnoli's works in which his theories about the birth and evolution of ancient Greek music come to light ("'Poetry as a Present From Music': Translation and Music in Ettore Romagnoli's Stagings of Greek Drama"). Following the theories of François-Auguste Gevaert,[23] Romagnoli believed that ancient music had developed from very simple pastoral songs supported

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21   About the emphatic value of these repetitions see Bornmann 1993, 566.

22   Bornmann 1993, 566 and 573.

23   See Gevaert 1875-1881.

by instrumental accompaniment.[24] Therefore, music would have been performed before poetry, rather than be produced by poetry, because rhythm determined the position of short or long syllables in the metrical scheme. In order to remain faithful to ancient metrical schemes, Romagnoli rejected the use of prose in translations of ancient drama[25] and advocated the employment of hendecasyllables for stage dialogues.[26] In 1920-1921, the scholar studied the relationship between popular Sicilian songs and textual fragments of ancient Greek music from a comparative standpoint.[27] Thanks to the cooperation with Giuseppe Mulè, these reflections allowed him to stage the choral passages of ancient drama in a way very similar to performances of Sicilian folk songs. This innovation was used in his productions of *Antigone* (1924) and *Medea* (1927). Although Romagnoli's approach is considered misleading by a wide range of critics because of its naive nature,[28] his stagings illustrate a specific identity and spirituality of classical studies at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as his personal view of antiquity.

The discussion at the end of the panel was led by Michele Napolitano (University of Cassino) and Angelo Meriani (University of Salerno). The scholars noted that all the papers of the conference's first session paid attention to the relationship between text and metrical scheme. The debate focused on the need to proceed with caution when assigning specific meanings to metrical sequences. The meter needs to be analyzed in its narrative context. It is not correct to label each meter with a fixed meaning, because its rhythm could change according to the possible variations due to the replacement of one long syllable with two short ones. In order to take into account the narrative context, it would be better to consider the repetition of two or more words as an isometric occurrence only when the repetition clearly strikes the attention of the audience because it breaks the logical meaning of the phrase. Otherwise, the repetition of the same words in different metrical positions might be attributed to rhythmical needs.

The first session of the conference ended with a performance of choral songs from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* organized by Anna Maria Belardinelli (University of Rome "La Sapienza") and director Adriano Evangelisti. They are the curators of the project *Theatron Teatro antico alla Sapienza* organized every year in Rome at "La Sapienza" University. It consists in two different

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24   See Romagnoli 1911 [1905], 3f.
25   See Romagnoli 1917 [1911], 108-11.
26   Romagnoli believed that the hendecasyllable was a direct descendant of the Greek iambic trimeter. See Romagnoli 1911 [1908], 364-68.
27   See Romagnoli 1920, 3f.
28   See Del Grande 1948, 80.

workshops: in the first one, the students on the course Philology, Literature and History of the Ancient World translate the text, while in the second one, students from all the courses work together to stage it. The action takes place by Agamemnon's grave, which symbolizes the feeling of worship felt by his children, Orestes and Electra, which is also the focus of the whole tragedy. The Chorus partakes in the action with such compassion towards the king's heirs as to completely identify with them by sharing their clothes, their hair style and their pain, emphasizing their emotional involvement.

Every single element of the Chorus becomes a clone of the two siblings, who are therefore considered an integral part of the social community because of their perfect physical, psychological and emotional similarity.

3 Music on Stage in Opera and Musical Drama

The aim for this second session of the conference was to analyze the role of the musical score in the narrative context of musical drama; special attention was paid to the narrative and performative function of the orchestra on stage. The keynote lecture by Fabrizio della Seta (University of Pavia), entitled "What is Musical Drama? Some Preliminary Clarifications", emphasized the leading role of music in musical drama: the musical components are the drama's keys without which it would not be possible to analyze the texture and the expressive message of the play. The music is not an alogical and instinctive element, but a reasonable and narrative component of the plot. The function of music in opera is to determine the rhythm of the storytelling. The composer may choose to quicken or slow down the action. Another role of music is to mark certain elements of the narrative, underlining the entrances or the exits of the characters or highlighting a crucial moment in the story. Music can also imply stage directions, thanks to its capacity for suggestion. It is possible to deduce some movements of the actors on stage from the musical score, which also have a performing aim. It is therefore necessary to change the point of view in the analysis of musical drama and look at music not as one of its components, but as the narration itself of the drama, or its fulfillment.

The following three papers focused on the relationship between the musical score and the staging of musical drama. The paper by Paolo De Matteis (University of Udine), entitled "The Staging Implied in the Musical Score: The Case Study of *Le Nozze di Figaro*", evaluated the presence of indications for performance suggested by music in Mozart's opera, in comparison with the nineteenth-century opera of Verdi or the *Musikdrama* of Wagner. De Matteis proposed a new methodology of research, identifying musical parameters

(timing, tempo, rhythm, tonal and harmonic elements, orchestration, vocality) which could be used to suggest a specific gesture on the part of the singer. In this way, it is possible to recognize some implicit or explicit stage directions in musical patterns and well-defined variations in the orchestral writing or in the vocal performances.[29] For example, the sound of a specific instrument (oboe) in the first act of *Le nozze di Figaro* (terzetto n. 7 "Cosa sento!"—"What do I hear!") could stress a gesture indicated explicitly by the musical score. The Count uncovers Cherubino, who was hiding on a chair under a dress. Mozart can suggest the acting of the gesture also in an implicit way, by using vocality. In the second act (scene n. 6), the Count asks the Countess for the key of the closet where Cherubino is hidden (scene n. 6 "Qua la chiave!"—"Give me the key!"). His imperious intervals could be an indication for performance. Furthermore, the ascending line of quarter notes might be a hint for the singer's movements on stage. More precisely, the Count has to go back to his wife to demand the key.[30] Even though it is clear that the entire staging of the opera cannot be deduced from musical patterns, the examples laid out by De Matteis could be used to examine in depth the relationship between the textual elements of the libretto and the narrative value of the musical score in eighteenth-century opera.

The interaction between sound and gesture in musical drama was the focus of the paper by Maria Rossetti (University of Rome "La Sapienza"), entitled "Dramatic Strategies in the Comic Scenes of Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Musical Drama". It was common practice to introduce comic scenes in serious Neapolitan musical dramas between the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.[31] These scenes were structured in opposition to the serious musical dramas they were part of, with accentuated intonation and marked gestures, in order to play up the staging and its comic style. This kind of performance offers some conspicuous elements that can help reconstruct the staging of the show. The musical instruments underlined the gestures of singers and marked the entrance of silent characters on stage. An example is offered by *Zenobia in Palmira*, composed by Apostolo Zeno and arranged by Leonardo Leo, staged in Naples in 1725. When Elisa explains to Tullo how he could pretend to be a doctor (Act II, final scene), the accompanied recitative underlines the most excited moments of the action where gestures and

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29   On the relationship between music and stage action in opera see Osthoff 1980; Surian 1987.

30   Beghelli 1991 proposes an accurate study on the musical pauses which are considered as suggested stage directions in *Le nozze di Figaro*.

31   Regarding a study of the comic intermezzo history see Troy 1979. On the comic scenes staged in Naples see Lazarevich 1970; Romagnoli 1995.

physical contact among the actors become essential for the performance. By contrast, in the following scene, when Tullo imitates the gesture showed by Elisa, the recitative is not accompanied and the actions are underlined by short ascending musical lines of the bass. An example of implicit gesture can be found in the second intermezzo of *Artemisia*, staged at the San Bartolomeo theater in Naples in 1731. The intermezzo ends with Count Barlocco, a very coarse character, promising marriage to Sofia, a disgraced gentlewoman. Sofia speaks with the appropriate textual and musical language of opera, while Barlocco uses an absolutely comic melody. One of his double-meaning jokes is articulated syllable by syllable and accompanied by a scale of semiquavers that suggests a naughty gesture. The analysis of musical patterns in the comic scenes highlights their peculiar use of sound on stage and the close cooperation between composers and performers, who often enriched the staging with personal interventions and variations in the musical score.

Giovanna Casali (University of Bologna) focused on the re-elaboration of ancient Greek tragedies in musical drama ("The Librettist and the Classical Source: Dramaturgical and Sonic Re-Elaborations of Greek Tragedy on the Operatic Stage"). The paper offered some specific examples of how a librettist, basing his opera on Greek tragedy, had to modify formal stereotypes due to the different genre.[32] Taking into consideration the *Alceste* by Calzabigi, for example, Alceste's death is preceded by a narration where the maid's *rhesis*, based on the maid's account from Euripides' drama, narrates last moments of Alcestis' life. Calzabigi re-elaborated the maid's description, which had to be shaped in accordance with operatic theater conventions. Because opera does not allow the narration of events occurring elsewhere, all significant events must be performed and sung on stage. Thus, the content of the maid's narrative is performed by the protagonist on stage, and the speech reported by the maid in the tragedy is sung by Alceste here. Another case: in the Singspiel *Alcesti* by Wieland, the sticomitia in the tragedy between Heracles and Admetus is significantly modified. Instead of alternately speaking a line each, the two characters sing two separate arias in which the alternate verses of the Greek text are merged. Moreover, the presence of a silent character in Greek drama represents an issue for the conventions of opera. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Iole faces the questions of Heracles' jealous wife Deianira in silence. But a silent character cannot appear on the operatic stage: in Buti's *Ercole amante*, Iole, heartbroken, sings about her love for the hero. These few examples highlight the different criteria that authors of opera had to observe when presenting

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32   Dahlhaus 1986 investigates the reception of ancient Greek drama in opera, particularly the adaptations of Euripides' tragedies.

their own version of ancient myths, such as the prevalence of the narrative role of music in the drama.

The narrative role of music on stage is integrated into a performance by the descriptive function of the place that musicians took in the orchestra. Giovanna Carugno (Conservatory of Siena) analyzed the position and the role of the harpsichordist in opera stagings between the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries ("The Harpsichordist in the Staging of Operas: A Historical Perspective"). Information about the function of the harpsichordist in the orchestra is fragmentary but can be reconstructed by examining various historical sources, including treatises and private correspondence between musicians.[33] The harpsichordist was entrusted with supporting the voice of the singer in the recitatives, accompanied by other instruments such as the cello, but also with directing the singers, while the first violinist directed the rest of the orchestra.[34] For this reason eighteenth-century musical drama sometimes featured two harpsichordists. One directed the orchestra while the second could prompt the singer performing a simple recitative. The position of the harpsichordist in the orchestra is key to establishing its relationship with the other instruments. The harpsichordist could be placed in the center, surrounded by the rest of the orchestra and usually next to the other *continuo* instruments, in order to reinforce the basso line.[35] The harpsichordist's role was gradually removed from operas during the nineteenth century due to the growing presence of the orchestral conductor. The historical change in the role of the harpsichordist is representative of the evolution of operatic performance.

The object of the paper by David Pouliquen ("Singing or Acting? This is the Question") is to tackle the problem of operatic realism. Indeed, Opera is intrinsically at odds with real-life verisimilitude since its principals sing rather than speak their lines. At the end of her operatic career, French Soprano Natalie Dessay has stressed, resignedly, the impossibility of overcoming this obstacle. Yet there remains some hope of remedy considering Italian Soprano Mirella Freni's following statement: "Si canta come si parla!" (One must sing as he or she speaks). This raises the fundamental issue of whether singers can become actors. Without discrediting transcendental approaches, Pouliquen considered the limits of this postulated transfiguration in the eyes of a wide range of technical constraints such as vocal technique, staging, and orchestration. In

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33   Among the other treatises, see the method to play the harpsichord by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, translated in Italian by Gentili 1993.

34   Bacciagaluppi 2006 analyses the performance practices of simple recitatives in early-eighteenth-century opera.

35   For more details, see Galeazzi 1791-1796.

order to do so, he carefully selected four emblematic excerpts from Mozart's *Magic Flute*, Bizet's *Carmen*, Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, and Verdi's *Otello*, all recitatives, and he focused his attention on intonation and temporal discrepancies, that is, a bi-parametrization of real social interactions.

A large number of the papers in this session focused on the analysis of musical patterns as a script. The discussion, led by Nicola Pasqualicchio (University of Verona), highlighted the narrative and descriptive role played by the components of music in musical drama and the ways in which they convey information concerning the staging. However, this last aspect is often neglected by modern directors of opera, who do not carry out the indications implied by the verbal and musical text and run the risk of misinterpreting the whole work. The discussion on this point was very animated because it concerns modern directors' personal interpretations, which are fundamental to the revitalization of musical drama and to its capacity for speaking to the present. Regarding the possibility of reconstructing the acting and staging of musical dramas from musical patterns, the need for caution was confirmed because part of the singers' performance is prescribed by the musical score, which is a narrative component of the play. If their gestures and movements replicate the same effects as the music, the singers' acting could be overloaded. As for opera singers' skill in acting, it is important to remember that opera productions and performances have changed throughout the centuries and they do not necessarily require naturalistic acting.

The first day of the conference ended with another performance, organized by the department of Human Studies of the University of L'Aquila and coordinated by Mirko Lino (University of L'Aquila) and Massimo Fusillo (University of L'Aquila). "Remix the Cinema" is a live show performed by Luca Acito, Alberto Casati e Simone Arcagni: classical silent movies are reassembled with a new editing and a new sound track, both realized and mixed in front of the audience. This presentation offered a concrete example of interaction between cinematic art and live performance.

4   Musical Languages in Modern and Contemporary Theater

The second day of the conference was focused on the relationship between the auditory, visual and corporeal spheres in contemporary theater productions. Valentina Valentini (University of Rome "La Sapienza"), in her keynote lecture entitled "Towards a Catalogue of Vocal and Sound Effects on Stage: Some Hypotheses for Research", reviewed different typologies of 'auditory dramaturgy', a phrase coined by Valentini to indicate the whole acoustical

component of a performance, comprising live or recorded sounds, the human voice with its verbal and non-verbal expressions, and all other auditory elements of the production.[36] The theatrical space must be considered first as an acoustic space, where music, sounds and human voices are on the same expressive level. This point of view is still far less explored by critics than the visual dimension of performance.[37] The theater of the final decades of the twentieth century is characterized by the relevance of the material aspect of sound thanks to the implementation of technology (microphones, recording devices and amplifiers) that provides the means for repeating sounds and amplifying their propagation.[38] Recorded and reproduced sounds on stage tend to become 'acousmatic sounds', i.e. apparently sourceless sounds. The human voice also takes center stage with its various possibilities, such as shouts, silence, non-verbal vocalizations or acousmatic voices. Music should be considered an essential element in decoding and interpreting theatrical messages. Valentini underlined the need to coin a new research framework to define the relationship between sound and space, between visual and acoustic components, between the voice and the body of the actor. In order to fulfill this goal, Valentini founded a research group (*Acusma*) with the aim of cataloging the vocal and sonic phenomena of those theatrical performances for which it is possible to retrieve audio and video recordings.

A mysterious and unrepeatable sound is itself the protagonist of the chamber opera *The Hunchback Variations* composed by Mickle Maher, arranged by Mark Messing and staged in 2011. Angela Albanese (University of Verona) analyzed the symbolic value of this search for an impossible sound ("« Sound, Mysterious Sound, Impossible Sound ». *The Hunchback Variations* by Mickle Maher"). In a panel discussion of a surreal conference, two characters, Ludwig von Beethoven and Quasimodo, the bell-ringer of Notre Dame, investigate and try to reproduce the sound described by Anton Čechov at the end of Act II of his piece, *The Cherry Orchard*, as "a remote sound, that comes from the sky, like a violin string that breaks, a melancholy sound".[39] Quasimodo tries to reproduce the mysterious sound with all sorts of items that he has brought on stage: a small trumpet, a horn, a little toy piano; but to no avail.

Beethoven, who describes himself as old and deaf in spite of his attractive looks, states that his friend has not found the sound. "This is not the sound",

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36   See Valentini 2012, 18.

37   The acoustic aspect of theatrical performances is not often analyzed with independent criteria, but only as part of complex studies on modern staging in general. See Fischer-Lichte 2004, 211; Pavis 1996; Lehmann 1999.

38   Di Scipio 2008, 81-106.

39   Čechov 1966, 39.

he repeats after every attempt. Nonsense and comedy are the main traits of this chamber opera, in which two deaf musicians strive to reproduce a sound which nobody knows, not even Čechov.[40] This failed research leads the audience to consider the limitations of artistic creation and to reevaluate the concept of failure as an integral part of the original production.

The contamination of the auditory sphere with the visual one on stage is the object of the paper entitled "Pleasure for the Ears and Pleasure for the Eyes" by Silvia De Min (Université La Sorbonne). An eighteenth-century essay by Pietro Gonzaga, entitled *Music for the Eyes*, established the predominance of sight over all other senses in a theatrical performance. The author, principal scenographer for the imperial theater in Saint Petersburg, theorized the concept of 'visible music'. His approach describes music as a pleasure that is quickly exhausted and leaves no trace. Gonzaga considers spectacle, on the contrary, a long-lasting pleasure. Therefore, music cannot stand on its own, but must be used as an embellishment of the theatrical performance. When it is used as ornamentation, music gives wide space to the imagination by enriching the stage with additional elements that did not exist before. However, to avoid the performance becoming just an ostentatious display of its visual components, the scenographer hypothesizes the creation of a theater that is not dominated by words. All aspects of verbal communication are replaced by music and gesture. These considerations about the relationship between spectacle and music on stage could help increase our knowledge of eighteenth-century theater productions and of the comparisons between the arts at the time.

A complex acoustic score is the focus of the reinterpretation of Aristophanes' *Birds* by Federico Tiezzi. Carla Russo (University of Naples "L'Orientale") analyzed the symbolic value of the use of music and voice in this modern staging of the comedy ("Aristophanes' *Birds* in an Acoustic-Visual Reinterpretation by Federico Tiezzi"). Tiezzi's reinterpretation becomes a Brechtian musical drama with the aim of staging the metamorphosis of human beings into birds. The original Greek text is reduced to give space to the acting, specific voice use and singing. All of the characters are followed during their metamorphoses into birds, and afterwards, as they learn the language and movements required in their new form. The delivery is characterized by different regional accents and various modulations of the voice such as the tweet, the trill, the warble, the shout and the falsetto. Their physical appearance also plays an important role in the transformation of the characters into birds. The

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40   Čechov defined the sound of *The Cherry Orchard* a little thing without importance in his epistolary (Čechov 1960, 534).

actors' mastery of their bodies allows them to change their posture from the static pose of a *tableau vivant* to a suddenly dynamic movement. Every aspect of the staging is therefore stressed by the acoustical elements, with which the director produces a meaningful stratification of brilliantly interpreted political and social themes, which provides the key to the production's interpretation in a Brechtian style.

The receptive impact of sound on the audience was the focus of the paper by Laura Pernice (University of Catania), who explored the work of the theatrical group *Motus* ("Acoustical Movements: From White Noise to Acoustic Editing in the *Rooms* Project"), by focusing on the complex acoustical stratification of the *Rooms* project (2000-2002). This project consists of different installations such as the audio-visual piece *White Noise* (2000) and the multimedia show entitled *Twin Rooms* (2002). All the performances share the employment of white noise—a random signal made up of sound waves with equal intensity and different frequencies, which are recognizable as annoying background noise. In these performances, white noise usually symbolizes chaos and the stunned condition of the characters, confused by the media and by the sounds of technical progress. The two directors (Casagrande and Nicolò) use digital technology to synthesize such sounds as the buzz of insects or the rustling of the wind on the microphone in real time. Visual suggestions, such as a particular montage of images of Californian landscapes, are added to the acoustic ones. In *Twin Rooms*, there is a second level of previously recorded acousmatic sounds. The dialogue of the characters, the live noises of the room-set and the characters' voices off (a sort of stream of consciousness) make up a continuous vague sound. This method is intended to produce the soundscape that everyone normally perceives in a hotel room. This project is one of the most interesting procedures of re-mediation of environmental soundscape in the twenty-first century; its aim is to create an estranging effect on the audience by means of countless 'acoustic particles'[41] which are deconstructed and reconstructed in a stratification of sounds and meanings.

The relationship between musical pattern and vocal pattern was also analyzed, in different terms, by Vincenza Costantino (University of Basilicata). The piece entitled *Fedeli d'Amore* by Marco Martinelli is inspired by the definition that Dante Alighieri gives of himself in the *Vita Nova* ("Acoustical and Musical Stratification in *Fedeli d'Amore* by Marco Martinelli). The performance is organized in seven narrative sections, each embodied by a singular personification, viz. fog, a demon, a crucified donkey, the vituperative devil, Italy, Antonia (Dante's daughter) and the ending. Dante himself is a phantom

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41   See Pitozzi 2012 and 2018.

character because he does not appear on stage, but the audience feels his presence anyway. The only voice heard by the spectators is that of Ermanna Montanari, who performs the different sections using words and sounds, with musical accompaniment. The text is broken up in the performance. In fact, there is no book on the bookstand at the center of the scene, but a stack of white sheets. The predominance of the visual arts in the performance is professed, because the subtitle suggests: "polyptych in seven panels for Dante Alighieri". The images overlap just as the sounds are confused. The audience cannot listen to a sound without feeling they have missed something else and wait for a sudden event that will help them jump to an interpretation, but the only sound they can hear clearly is Montanari's voice, which is the focus of the performance.[42] The show is a very interesting example of 'musicality on stage',[43] in which the acoustic stratification suggests the imaginative dimension of Dante's poetry and becomes a total sensorial experience.

In his paper entitled "The Disturbing Voices of the Living Theater", Mauro Petruzziello (University of Tuscia), focused on the vocality of the Living Theater actors in performance. More precisely, Petruzziello analyzed the "disturbing voices" that explode on stage and break the standard of vocal performance. He classified them as vocal alterations, "somewhere else" voices and voices combined with body and soul. The first ones include preverbal sounds and a childlike tone of voice, which is artificially altered like Valeska Gert's (*Baby*, 45 rpm, 1969, Deutsche Grammophon). A model of the second group is identifiable in the almost dematerialized vibrato voice of Alessandro Moissi, described as the voice of the ventriloquist in *Tagebücher in der fassung der handschrift* by F. Kafka. His peculiar German diction, strongly affected by his native Italian accent, tended to make his voice sound consistently 'foreign'. The last kind of "disturbing voice" consists of those, such as Maurice Schwartz's singing voice, that bear a relationship with the body/soul. They are characterized by wheezes, stutters, and repetitive meaningless sounds, all of which are explosions of the phonic material, and among them the shout stands out. Though influenced by Artaud, the Living Theater seems to reconsider his view of the scream, which is no longer seen as an act of disintegration of the scared body, but as a way to reconnect soul and body.[44] The shout is therefore not only an expression of fear, but a constructive act, with the aim of survival. It is in this sense that it is used by the Living Theater in *The Brig* (1963) and *Antigone* (1967).

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42   See Pitozzi 2017.

43   See Lehmann 1999.

44   See Deleuze 1995 [1981].

The New Musical Theater emerged in Italy in the 1960s. Daniele Vergni (University of Rome "La Sapienza") analyzed the performances where new possibilities of musical languages were mixed with a solid narrative and dramaturgical structure of the staging, as explained in his paper entitled "Acoustical Spaces and Vocal Experimentation in the 1960s Italian New Musical Theater". The New Musical Theater's innovation was the concept of autonomy of the acoustic and visual spaces. The space becomes 'dramaturgical acoustic' where the directors experiment with the vocal deconstruction of verbal text. Experimental practices in the use of the voice date back to the 1950s, when composers such as Berio, Maderna and Nono started to fragment the verbal text by means of electronic technologies. These techniques cause the words to lose their semantic value with the aim of reducing it to a progression of sounds.[45] In Bussotti's composition entitled *Memoria* (*per voci e orchestra, rappresentabili in cinque scene*),[46] there are different indications for vocal emissions such as the spoken word, the whispered word, the breathed word and many more. In these processes, the body becomes 'spoken material'.[47] In *Sequenza III*, one of the fourteen sequences Berio composed between 1958 and 2002, new vocal emissions are attributable to a new category, the 'vocal gesture',[48] which is not a mimetic gesture, but a dynamic expression of an intention, realized vocally by means of a ritual repetition. This kind of performance aims at a general deconstruction of the soundscape and of the acting components.

The same research method, centered on the deconstruction of the acoustic elements, was used by Doriana Legge (University of L'Aquila), who analyzed "The Acoustical Dimension of Fortebraccio Theater". In the artistic project titled "Fortebraccio Teatro" the acoustic space is characterized by experimental practices that tend to create overlapping sections and a stratification of sounds in the musical pattern, which are articulated in specific effects, such as delay, chorus and sound reflection. The three-dimensional production and reception of sound called 'aurophony' was invented by Paolo Carrer. It was first experimented with in *Desdemona and Othello are Dead* (2009), in which loudspeakers were placed so as to recreate the three-dimensional perception of sound by the audience. In *The Giants of the Mountain* and, in particular, in the *Song of the Songs* the spectators are stimulated with a stratification of sounds comparable to an acoustic short circuit. The performer/dj Latini declaims Bible verses just like a dj behind his table with increasing emotional involvement.

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45   See Borio 1982, 86.
46   The performance *Remembrance* (*for voices and orchestra performing in five scenes*), composed by Sylvano Bussotti and directed by Daniele Paris, was staged at the Biondo theater in Palermo during the Third International Week of the New Music (October 1962).
47   See Merleau-Ponty 1945.
48   See Berio 2013, 68.

In the background, a sequence of pop music lyrics flows like a musical stream of consciousness. As a result, the relationship between sounds seems to bear more meaning than the sounds themselves. According to Deleuze and Guattari, it is possible to affirm that the musical patterns of "Fortebraccio Teatro" are a way of arousing a kind of estrangement in the audience. Deleuze underlines that unorganized sound creates an effect of estrangement similar to a lack of territoriality; by contrast, well-structured music characterized by a refrain contributes to the demarcation of the border of the audience's imagination. Therefore, sounds can also be seen as elements of imagination, an undefined flow and continuous alternation of intensity.

A reversal of perspective about the use of music on stage was proposed by Vera Cantoni (University of Pavia), who analyzed the thoughts on and the implementation of music by Howard Brenton ("« Wary of Songs in Plays ». The Careful Use of Music in the Plays of Howard Brenton"). The contemporary English playwright rarely inserts musical elements in his dramas because he believes that they often do not substantially contribute to the plot but insist too much on the emotional reactions of the audience. In an interview, Brenton stated that he has always been wary of songs in plays because they can have the effect of stopping the narrative in favor of a sentimental burst of emotion. Therefore, the music in his works is always a very functional element—a necessity imposed by the story. Although music plays a fundamental role in the theatrical context of the last few decades, Brenton's extensive body of work requires very few songs and only some moments of dance, which can have a mime-like power of storytelling. In *Never So Good* (National Theatre, London, 2008), the dances on stage help date the events, which range from the 1910s to the 1960s. In *Doctor Scroggy's War* (Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, London, 2014), dances have a narrative role as well as metaphorical value. In *H.I.D.—Hess is Dead* (Almeida Theatre, London, 1989), a play focusing on the impossibility of reconstructing historical truth, dance marks a crucial moment, the death of the title character. A woman begins to mime the pain and difficult movements of an old man; the mime then becomes a dance without music, concluding in the man's death. The emotional aspect of music is once again denied and avoided, this time by means of silence, thus surprising the audience's expectations.

The discussion was led by Stefania Rimini (University of Catania), who underlined the importance of Deleuze's idea of 'acoustical scaling' as the basis of all the papers of the session. The performances were analyzed on the musical, auditory and visual planes, which always overlap and combine in different theatrical languages. The final and common goal of such productions is to generate a sense of estrangement in the audience and overturn their categories of analysis.

5   Ritual Music on Stage in Oriental Theater

The second day of the conference ended with the keynote lecture by Elisa Ganser (University of Zurich), which extended the research field to ancient Indian classical drama. The source from which the function of music and dance on ancient and medieval Indian stages can be reconstructed is *Nāṭyaśāstra*, an essay on the scenic art by Bharata (2nd century BC or AD), and its commentary, *Abhinavabhāratī*, which was written at the beginning of the 11th century. In these texts, music is considered a maidservant to the art of performance, which also includes architecture, rhetoric and dance. The aim of Indian classical drama is to correct the moral degradation of the customs of society. For this reason, it tries to arouse emotions (*rasa*) through the pleasure of imitation. The rasas are the eight basic emotions that are present in each individual. The *rasas* are performed on stage by means of mimesis, through dialogues in prose or recitatives in verse and a very strict code of gestures. However, there are no specific indications about the musical elements of the performance in the ancient texts. The poet specified where they should be inserted, but the leader of the theater company established the rhythm and the melody in keeping with the narrative context. Consequently, music on stage has the function of providing indications about the entrances of characters. Those who belong to a lower social class usually walk in small steps to a cadenced music; those from higher social classes, usually walk in long steps, accompanied by slow music. In the first part of the performance, a ritual instrumental performance took place, which was preparatory to the vision of the spectacle. So in Indian classical drama music on stage had the function of creating such a surplus of beauty as to enchant the audience like magic. As a result, the audience was ready to receive the edifying content of the text.

The discussion, led by Paolo Pacciolla and Matteo Casari, dealt with the numerous affinities observed between the Indian and ancient Greek theater. For example, Aristotle's *Poetics* describe the same correspondence between basic emotions and theatrical devices aimed at a rousing specific feelings in the audience. Moreover, it is possible to suppose direct or indirect influences between Greek theatrical culture, imported to India by Alexander the Great, and local performances. In contrast to the Greek praxis, in which acting was an exclusively masculine art, in India music and dance were performed also by women because they represented the source of life and were considered well-boding. There are also analogies between ancient and modern Indian theater, which preserves its devotional nature and its didactic function. Nowadays, modern theater is also a political tool for subversive political ideas and against the *status quo*.

6   Conclusions

Of course, these conference days could neither cover every aspect of the relationship between music and theater nor exhaust every relevant field of research. However, the comparative perspective of the conference contributed to dialogue between cultures that do not usually communicate with each other. The explorations of the emotional role played by music in Greek theater had many points in common with those of the educational aim of Sanskrit theater, as both kinds of performance used pleasure to convey moral lessons to the audience. The relationship between music and text was also investigated in ancient Greek drama as well as in operatic librettos. In both cases, the function of music in guiding the performance emerged. Musical patterns might prompt the actors to act and move in particular ways on stage. The descriptive and narrative role of music was clarified, demonstrating that sometimes it underlines particularly important events in the plot. The musical components interact with the visual aspects of performance. From eighteenth-century essays to contemporary productions, the role of music on stage has always been a *vexata quaestio*, in contrast with the undisputed suggestive power of vision, and it is still open to future research perspectives.

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Book Reviews

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Bakker, Egbert J., ed. 2017. *Authorship and Greek Song: Authority, Authenticity,
   and Performance* (Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song, Vol. 3), Leiden/
   Boston: Brill. x, 295 pp., ISBN 9789004339699

The volume edited by E.J. Bakker, and published by Brill in the prestigious
Mnemosyne Supplements series (vol. 402), includes a clear and useful intro-
duction by the editor himself (1-7) and thirteen essays that thoroughly analyze
the complexity of the Greek lyric paradigm in its narratological, authorial,
performative and spatial aspects, highlighting the epichoric genesis and pan-
hellenic aspiration of archaic and classical Greek songs. Equipped with an *index
locorum* and *index rerum*, it stems from the Conference entitled "Authorship,
Authority, and Authenticity in Archaic and Classical Greek Song", which was
held June 6-9, 2011 at Yale University and organized by the Network for the
Study of Archaic and Classical Greek Song (http://greeksong.ruhosting.nl) as
the second conference open for papers from all members of the Network.

   The innovative idea shared by all the essays in the volume consists in the
identification of authority as the cornerstone of a poetic piece of art, inde-
pendent from both the context of its original performance—considering its
reperformances in different times and contexts—and its performers, within
a wider and more variegated cultural landscape than the original context of a
given song.[1] Such an approach especially highlights the idea of the survival
of songs through generations, beyond the social and political context, the
performers, and the audience of their first performance, from a panhellenic
perspective.

   Eva Stehle's chapter (1. *The Construction of Authority in Pindar's* Isthmian 2
in Performance, 8-33) challenges the traditional interpretation of the first triad
of Pindar's *Isthmian* 2, in which the focus is on the poet's 'mercenary Muse'.

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1 The toponimy associated with the author's own name plays an important role in the identifi-
   cation of the contents and values expressed in poetry.

After pointing out the multi-layered authoriality of songs in their afterlife as texts (already conceived by Pindar as adaptable to different situations), S. shows that in *Isthmian* 2 the chorus' voice undermines the author's authority, setting up itself as the real 'author' of the ode. They act as authoritative speakers ('principals'), so that their social identity and prestige is all important in consideration of the *laudandus*. S. highlights the chorus' commitment to the words they say, and their link with *xenia* as an expansion of the meaning of the victory to cover also elite families from other cities. By making use of gender-coding, the male chorus sets the female trafficked songs in opposition to their old values (homoerotic desire *versus* heterosexual desire and money), and "visually embodied the profound difference between themselves and the songs they are describing" (21), those "prostitute songs" (22) that purchase praise and are so different from theirs.

Christopher Carey's essay (ch. 2, *Voice and Worship*, 34-60) focuses on the poetics of self-representation of the speaking voice in cult song. C. analyzes the diachronic and synchronic dynamics of public prayer in a wide variety of songs—mainly by Pindar and Bacchylides—highlighting as central features continuity and the identification of the speaker with a tradition on one side, and a "horizontal inclusiveness [...] which empowers the speaker as representative of the group" (38) on the other. When a deictic frame is lacking, the performative context and/or the narrative are the sources of authority of the song as a gift to the god. The narrative, in particular, appears as a source of authority whenever it is firmly contextualised and presupposes an inclusiveness, even if dynamic, between speaker and audience. C. focuses on collective self-representation in Pindar's Fourth and Second *Paeans* (43-6) as a major aspect of the kind of authority created within the performative context. As for gender (55-9) as an aspect of the voice, C. highlights the authoritativeness of the virgin female chorus, even if it is asserted through the devices of apologia and self-deprecation.

After an introduction on the ancient Greek poetry as folk literature based on orality (61-2),[2] the third chapter, written by Richard P. Martin (*Crooked Competition: The Performance and Poetics of* Skolia, 61-79), investigates *skolia*, short songs performed at *symposia*, for which M. proposes a new explanation (questioning their existence as a genre), in light of their 'authoriality', against that proposed in the most recent work concerning such compositions (Jones

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2   The topic is addressed also in Bakker's general Introduction (1f.). The question of the composition and performance of the Homeric Poems has been most recently mentioned in Lucarini (2019, 1-6), who asserts the presence of writing already at the first stages of their composition.

2007). Extending his analysis beyond that of Collins (2004), which is focused on the competitive environment of *skolia*, M. focuses on the social contexts of the performance of *skolia*, to which three related aspects are linked: "competition; a creative, collective basis; and creative commentary" (64). Through a strict comparison with the Cretan *mandhinadhes*, M. states that the term *skolion* (embedding "multiplicity, indirection and fuzziness" [71]) does not concern the performance of such compositions within *symposia*,[3] but rather it points to "the *attitude* and self-positioning that one brings to the performance", that is, to their essence as "creative comments of an indirect type" (70), whose addressee is vague.

The link between the author's name and toponimy is dealt with in Nicholas Boterf's chapter (4), entitled *Placing the Poet: The Topography of Authorship* (80-98), which highlights, on the one hand, how an author's name is never a neutral fact, since it creates "a series of contexts for the reception and performance of an author's work", and on the other, that authorship is not in conflict with the performance and reperformance of oral texts (81). Self-naming, as a means to linking the 'I' of the poem with extra-textual reality, dictates the dynamics of performance and reperformance of song. This aspect comes out especially if we consider that ancient Greek authors prefer to name themselves by using their first name together with their 'ethnic' (i.e. their city of origin), a most important marker of the epichoric tradition to which a poet belongs. Such a name + place structure appears most clearly in historiography, beginning with Hecataeus from Miletus, who places himself within the literary tradition that begins with Homer and Hesiod (86f.). Quite differently from Herodotus, who follows the same pattern, Thucydides, as both *auctor* and *actor* in his *Histories*, uses the ethnic throughout (thus confirming that the structure name + ethnic is often associated with authorship), except when qualifying himself as an Athenian *strategos*, for in such cases he uses the patronimic. In song composition, the mention of birthplace alone facilitates reperformance, both by rhapsodes and citharodic groups, which were organized in a similar manner, and shows an idea of authorship that does not "overlap with creativity and originality", even if such performers could create original content (94f.).

A most important complement to the previous chapter is offered by the subsequent essay (ch. 5, *Trust and Fame: the Seal of Theognis*, 99-121), by Egbert J. Bakker, which addresses the international potential of the association of a poet's name with his *polis*, considering the case of the Theognidean *corpus* and

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3   However the scholar does not preclude the folk etymology that links *skolia* to a zig-zag performance.

its audiences. The general absence of specific references to either Theognis' *polis* (Megara) or specific points in time allows the symposiast singing his elegies to *become* Theognis, for the performer's voice "is not mimetic, but *indexical*", that is, demonstrative or deictic elements in the poetic discourse are meaningful just in the context in which the performance takes place (103f.). Such an indexicality, as Bakker puts it, is to be considered a *projected* one, for the poetic discourse itself is composed in order to "travel in time and space", that is, to be performed in ever changing contexts. Therefore, the prospectively indexical vocative of the addressee "remains generic and unspecific" (105), and is all important for Theognis. B. also addresses the topic of the *sphrēgís*, the 'seal'. Strongly linked with the verses' international aspirations, the *sphrēgís* is not simply a safeguard against literary theft, but it also concerns the setting, the right circumstances for the performance of the songs, and the sympotic bond between speaker and listener, for "the one owes the other the renown of his name" (118).

The combined dimensions of space and time are dealt with from a Hellenistic perspective in the subsequent essay, by Jacqueline Klooster (ch. 6, *Authenticity and Autochthonous Traditions in Archaic and Hellenistic Lyric Poetry*, 122-38). K. investigates the contribution of the original spatial context of an author to the authenticity of a literary experience, considering that Hellenistic poetry adapts tradition into a new cultural context, so that it is possible to speak of an "authenticity paradox": if on one side the Hellenistic poets try to *authenticate* old poetry, on the other, they adapt, imitate and innovate traditional material (125). This paradox is clearly visible in the claim for "autochthonous traditions", which is linked with the belief concerning the presence of "authoritative copies" of a literary work in a poet's hometown, and also with the tradition of pilgrimages to the poets' graves and birthplaces, and opposed to an idea of poetry as not bound to any specific location or context. K. cites the originator Sappho and imitator Nossis, whose poetry can be appreciated in Lesbos, but actually cannot engage in dialogue with Sappho's; and Callimachus, as the champion of *polyeideia*, for whom the journey to the origins is always a metaphorical one. Since everything the Hellenistic poet could know about the poetic tradition was to be found in the Alexandrian Library, the poet focuses on text as all, for literary culture does not necessarily need a unity of place for the performer/author of poetry and the audience.

Chapter 7 (*Embedded Song and Poetic Authority in Pindar and Bacchylides*, 139-60), written by Sarah J. Harden, deals with the poet's authority as linked with the effects aroused by the activity of a chorus other than the one performing the present ode. Pindar's *Nemean* 5 and Bacchylides' *Ode* 13 are considered

exemplary as far as inset songs are concerned: both show how the poets exploit embedded song in order to "create a sense of their own authority" (140), lingering on their poetic excellence due to their close connection with the Muses, and, in the case of Pindar's speakers, adducing an "independent poetic authority, achieved through moralizing statements and claims to excellence" (141). In Pindar's *Nemean* 5, issues of genre appropriate material are in play, and only the Muses' authority in the embedded song concerning Hippolyta, the wife of Acastus, and her attempted seduction of Peleus makes acceptable a subject apparently inappropriate. Integral to the ode, the Muses' song bestows great authority on the poet-narrator, arousing the effect of "a blending of poetic voices which reflects positively on victor and poet alike" (146), for the poet is aware of the difference between divine and human speakers, and through the mouth of the immortal speakers legitimate marriage is proposed as a reward for athletic victory. In Bacchylides' *Ode* 13, the emphasis on the Aeginetan provenance of the maidens—with their parthenaic authority—together with the Homeric subject of the song—with its panhellenic resonance—highlights the poet's aspiration to internationality.

In chapter 8 (*Narratorial Authority and Its Subversion in Archilochus*, 161-77), Laura Swift investigates the indirect assertion of authority in Archilochus, whose strategy of using comic or subversive effects to achieve authority shows quite a different way of asserting it, encouraging the audience "to reflect upon the poet's authority and question the validity of the statements they hear" (161). *Gnōmē* is a device for bestowing authority upon a narrative, which shows itself as the receptacle of values passed on to each succeeding generation; however, the stylistic range often shows a humor that dwells in a vulgar illustration of *gnōmē* itself, also featuring a parody of appeals to divine support, as in Archilocus fr. 25 West. In a lengthy priamel in fr. 122 Archilocus parodizes the rhetorical tropes used by speakers in order to bestow authoritativeness upon themselves (in so doing he actually undermines them), and introduces a moral with an unexpected twist, as the perversion of nature introduces the example of the apparently impossible marriage of the speaker's ugly daughter. Archilocus sets out an ambiguous paradigm in the Telephus Elegy (*P.Oxy.* LXIX 4708), where the expectations aroused by the *gnōmē* (flight in battle is not cowardice, if the gods are against you) are disappointed with several shifts between flight as a "problematic choice" which is normally criticized and blamed, and as a forced one, for "even great heroes sometimes need to flee" (173). S. shows how the poet's devices for deconstructing and reworking conventional poetic tropes and narrative techniques challenge the audience's recognition of the tropes themselves and of poetic conventions, and also

flatter them, considering them "aficionados in the tricks that other poets use", and therefore "active participants in the discourse of how narrative authority is granted and retained" (175).

The poet's travels and the role of the places where a song arrives in shaping chorality are the topic of Jesús Carruesco's chapter (9. *The Invention of Stesichorus: Hesiod, Helen and the Muse*, 178-96), whose focus is the relationship between Stesichorus and Hesiod and Stesichorus' "reappropriation of chorality as poetic paradigm from its use by the epic poet" (190). The need to appropriate 'chorality'[4] in order to obtain both an epichoric and a panhellenic authority belongs to the epic poet—as the name of Hesiod, "he who projects his voice" shows—as well as to the composer of songs. Through the choral medium the latter[5] identifies himself with both the performers and the audience (180), and sets himself in direct competition with epic. According to C., Hesiod's encounter with the Muses in the proem of the *Theogony* is a model for Stesichorus' recantation of Helen in the *Palinode*. On the other hand, the Stesichorean Helen appears as the equivalent of the epic Muses, in the context of choral poetry, where blindness must be totally excluded. The appropriation and refashioning of epic material in Stesichorus' *Palinode* is then consistent with adaptations to different contexts and occasions of reperformances, with a variability which is "inscribed in the structure of the text and can thus reconcile oral reperformance with written fixation and textual stabilization" (188), also mirroring the logic and the structure of *dissoi logoi*. The poet's authority is then redefined, while "the claims to panhellenic truth of the epic narration" are reconciled with "the epichoric, ritually-based, and occasion-related variability of choral performance" (194).

Vayos Liapis' chapter (10. *On the Antagonism between Divine and Human Performer in Archaic Greek Poetics*, 197-221) deals once more, and more specifically, with the relationship between the poet and the Muses, which is often an ambiguous one, and with the antagonistic aspect of the poetic performance. Such a relationship can be represented as the source of the poet's songs, whose voice is instigated by the divine, but sometimes the singer may be the antagonist of the Muses. In the latter case, the consequent divine vengeance becomes at the same time the origin of the poet's fame. The antinomic relationship between the poet and the Muses influences the notions of authorship and authority, setting up a scenario in which "conflicting identities can coexist

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4   Understood as a wide cultural model articulating the whole of archaic Greek culture, and not only poetry.

5   The name Stesichorus is linked with the function of the *chorēgos* and the *choreutai*, in a "series of interchangeable levels" (179).

in a sort of symbiotic tension" (198), which can be observed in several stories (Thamyris, Linos, the Platonic myth of cicadas [*Phaedrus*, 259a-d], the story of Aesop's death and his posthumous honours in the Delphic sanctuary in the form of a hero cult; Homer's death according to an epigram of Alcaeus of Messene [*Ant. Gr.* 7.1 = 11.62-69 Gow-Page]). Frequently associated with riddles (216), the Muses influence the whole biography of Hesiod (217-9, with a note-worthy interpretation of ἐγγαστρίμυθος as 'receptacle' of the Muses' voice).

Pseudepigrapha of pre-Hellenistic authors and the literary game of resurrecting the past are the focus of Irene Peirano Garrison's chapter (11. *"Newly Written Buds:" Archaic and Classical Pseudepigrapha in Meleager's* Garland, 222-38). P.G. focuses on the meaning of authorial ascription for readers of epigrammatic collections, distinguishing between a "primary pseudonimity" (that of fakes) and a "secondary or allographic pseudonimity" (when an epigram is mistakenly attributed to a given author in the course of its transmission, i.e. as a result of its reception; P.G. uses in such cases the denomination of "pseudo-fakes"). The latter also include anonymous epigraphic poems transmitted in the *Greek Anthology* under the name of pre-Hellenistic authors (such epigrams can be largely found in Meleager's *Garland*, and belong especially to the dedicatory and sepulchral genre). It is often very difficult to ascertain whether the attribution of epigrams characterized by a secondary pseudonimity goes back to antiquity or to later stages in the texts' transmission history. P.G. emphasizes the notion of *koinōnia* concerning poetry (229-31) as a joint possession of all poets as *mystai. Koinōnia* is "an open and shared characteristic" that "extends not just to the poetry […] but to the very name and persona of the author whose identity one can borrow and whose corpus one can treat as open to expansion and creative refashioning" (230). Therefore, the most conventional and ubiquitous *topos* of the poet's immortality is sometimes used by Hellenistic authors in order to playfully appropriate a given ancient author's poetic *persona* in pseudepigraphic poems (P.G. gives this phenomenon the most efficacious definition of "authorial ventriloquism" [235]). Also the editor and reader—whose role is interchangeable with the author's role—take pleasure in this appropriation and restaging of the past, in which "assumed authorship is not necessarily an act of deception but a playful challenge to continue, resurrect, and even embody the past" (237).

Leanna Boychenko's chapter (12. *Sappho or Alcaeus: Authors and Genres of Archaic Hymns*, 239-64) focuses on authorship as related to the genre and diffusion of a poetic composition, studying hymnic fragments whose authorship is contested between Sappho and Alcaeus. She studies Alcaeus, fr. 304, part of a hymn to Artemis containing a reference to lifelong virginity, which is also attributed to Sappho (fr. 44a). B. shows that the hymn in question is not

aimed at a choral performance, but is a narrative one, as hymns traditionally assigned to Alcaeus are. Unlike the majority of Alcaeus' hymns, which seem to be impersonal narrative hymns, Sappho's are not characterized by an extended narrative, focusing instead on the relationship between the performer and the addressee god. B. highlights the striking similarities between Alcaeus fr. 304/ Sappho fr. 44a and the Hestia section in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, showing the "shared common background" (261) of these hymns and the Pandora stories in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, and argues against biographical biases in the interpretation of authorship for fragmentary hymns, citing the consideration of genre and its features as a key factor for attribution.

Studying the transition from performance to text, Elisabetta Pitotto and Amedeo Raschieri's chapter (12. *Which Sappho? The Case Study of the Cologne Papyrus*, 265-86) focuses on the relationship between Sappho's Cologne Papyrus (third century BCE) and the much later (second century CE) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (1787, frr. 1 and 2). The two *testimonia* differ in their initial and final sections, but share twelve lines, the so-called 'Song on old age' (P.Oxy. 1787 fr. 1, 10-21, and P. Köln inv. 21351+21376, col. I l. 12 to col. II l. 8). According to P. and R., the 'Song on old age' in the two papyri represents "alternative performative versions" (270), apparently linked with the Hellenistic publication and circulation of "different arrangements of the Sapphic *corpus*". The Oxyrhynchus papyrus might display "*one of* the texts resulting from the Hellenistic editorial expertise" of Sapphic songs (271), upon whose crystallization "stratified reperformances in contexts, occasions, and sociopolitical situations possibly quite different from the original ones" played a role (272). On the other hand, the first eleven lines of P. Köln (the so-called 'New Sappho') seem to be a proem, an introduction to a public performance hinted at by the reference νῦν θαλία (l. 6), and by further references to current performance. P. and R. reach very interesting and persuasive conclusions about the Cologne Papyrus: the predicative ἔχοισα (l. 13) in the so-called 'Unknown Song' (P. Köln inv. 21351+21376, col. II 9-23) might make one think—if not of a female author—of a female *persona loquens*. On the other hand, developing the topic of death and immortality in glory for those engaging in poetic activity, and mentioning Orpheus—himself linked with death—the 'Unknown Song' appears linked with the 'New Sappho'. The sequence in the Cologne Papyrus then appears to be 'New Sappho' as proem, followed by the 'Song on old age', and then the 'Unknown song': such an organization makes one think of a "thematically homogeneous relay performance" (281) either at public competitions, or at *symposia*, or in both settings, if we think of reperformances. The Cologne Papyrus might then be interpreted on a performative level "as a script to guide successful future performances or as a transcript of a poetic association listened to

in a given relay occasion and so appreciated as to be fixed for future times by writing down the 'Unknown song' in a roll already registering […] the 'Song on old age' with its relative proem" (281f.). The author of the 'Unknown song' then makes an authority-oriented operation: looking for the highest degree of diffusion, he actually connected his composition "with the authority emanating from a re-enacted Sapphic authorship", a claim which is only possible within "the mechanisms of poetry that was orally and traditionally diffused in performance" (282). Thanks to the presence of two different writing hands,[6] the case study of the Cologne Papyrus thus shows a conception of authorship which is no longer authenticity-oriented, but performance-oriented.

This volume then appears as an important and very welcome contribution to the study of the archaic and classical Greek song. With their wealth of suggestions, strong critical engagement with the ancient sources, knowledge of the research of other scholars who have preceded them on such matters, and careful philological approach, the authors of these essays open new and stimulating perspectives on Greek song. Their essays encourage further scholarship in engaging with poetic texts, in order to reconstruct the socio-political contexts of their origins and reperformances, and the survival of their authors' background and aims as the 'seal' of authority that transmits ethical and cultural values to future generations throughout the Greek world.

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6   The writing hand of the 'Unknown song' is slightly later than the one of the 'New Sappho' and 'Song on old age'.

Roman music has regularly been underestimated in comparison to Greek music: although many texts about and depictions of Roman music survive, the absence of musical notation gave the impression that Romans were living in the shadow of ancient Greek music. Since the 1960s, scholars have proved that Romans had a peculiar musical life which should be studied for its own sake. This was Wille's goal in *Musica Romana* (Wille 1967); in 1973, Baudot focused more on musicians in *Musiciens romains de l'Antiquité* (Baudot 1973); in 1999, Vendries published *Instruments à cordes et musiciens dans l'Empire romain* (Vendries 1999). These three books constitute the background for Vincent's valuable contribution to the social history of Roman musicians. Vendries had brought to the attention of scholars many aspects of the real life of musicians who dedicated their life to chordophones, dealing with texts, images and artefacts. Vincent aims at giving the counterpart with aerophones: the main characters of Vincent's book are *tubicines*, *cornicines* and *bucinatores*, although it should be noted that he also addresses the case of *fidicines* working for the Roman state. The whole inquiry mainly relies on two bodies of inscriptions: musicians belonging to the Roman army (311 items) and musicians working for cities (257 items), from the *Urbs* to the most distant provinces. Both databases may be easily consulted here: http://www.efrome.it/publications/ressources-en-ligne/jouer-pour-la-cite-alexandre-vincent.html.

As an epigraphist, Vincent is particularly interested in all the elements that inscriptions reveal about the social status and the role of musicians in the running of cities under Roman rule. Nevertheless, he also takes into account other sources, from texts to archaeological data, including representations of musicians on reliefs. It is unfortunate that the book does not include more figures, but the reader can find some of the items discussed in the exhibition catalogue "Musiques! Échos de l'Antiquité" (Emerit/Guichard/Jeammet/Perrot/Thomas/Vendries/Vincent/Ziegler 2017).

The book is divided into two main parts. The first is a comprehensive attempt to describe all the elements related to musical performance itself (instruments, occasions, settings): logically, Vincent distinguishes military and civic musicians (chapters 1 and 2). The second part is properly an essay of social, political and cultural history. In chapter 3, Vincent questions what it really meant to be a professional musician working for the Roman *imperium*, whereas chapter 4 focuses on the social status of all those musicians. Finally,

chapter 6 shows that Augustus' reign may be considered a significant turning point in the history of Roman musicians.

In the first chapter, Vincent starts with a historiographical account of military musicians, while addressing three main topics: the instruments they played, their place among the troops, and their position in the hierarchy. The discussion on the instruments is based on the testimony of Vegetius' *De re militari*, which Vincent then carefully examines and compares to iconography and archaeological remains. The most important musicians in this context were the *tubicines* and the *cornicines*, both belonging to the larger category of *aneatores*. The *tubicines* were polyvalent, whereas *cornicines* were related to *signiferi* in particular. The case of *bucinatores* is more puzzling: having studied all the sources, Vincent concludes that the *buccina* was made of horn and that *bucinatores* were assigned duties inside the encampment, e.g. to sound the alarm in the cavalry and on vessels (as the *vigiles* did in the cities). He also argues that the *tibicines* were only present for sacrifices and that the *liticines* do not appear in the epigraphical record. His statistical study is of interest: most of the inscriptions were found in Numidia (especially Lambaesis), then on the Northern limes, and in Rome and Italy. We are told about musicians from twenty-one legions (from Late Republic to 4th century CE). The only (minor) criticism is that Vincent missed one Greek inscription mentioning an Aur(elios) Alexandros βουκίνατωρ (from Plovdiv: *IGBulg.* III, 1, 884), probably dating back to the mid-3rd century CE. This is a dedication to an anonymous *legatus legionis*. Furthermore, Vincent has omitted the following passage from John Lydus' *De magistratibus populi Romani* (6th c. CE): Τουβίκινες, σαλπισταὶ πεζῶν. Βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἱππέων. Κορνίκινες, κεραῦλαι, which would have confirmed the idea that the *buccina* was particularly used in the cavalry. Discussing this (76), Vincent misread Behn who actually says that the (slide) trombone was not used by German cavalry because it needs two hands, and so it is surprising to find such an instrument on a stele from Mainz. Considering the hierarchy, one of Vincent's main achievements is the idea that the evolution of musical careers was limited, but possible through different means: from infantry to cavalry, from *cornu* to *tuba* or by belonging to the category of *principales*. The pages on musical education within the army (*discens cornicen*) are very original (98f.).

Chapter 2 is dedicated to musicians involved in civic rites. Vincent first discusses the role of the *cornicines* in calling citizens to *comitia centuriata*, linking it with the Roman ideal of the citizen-warrior. He also sheds some light on what he calls a "dramaturgy of capital punishment" (134), because music played a role in such trials. In the *praefatio* preceding sacrifices, the music of the

tibicines was supposed to protect the sacrifice from all disturbing noises. The presence of *fidicines* in this context should not be interpreted as an imitation of Greek rites, but rather in terms of Augustan propaganda featuring Apollo citharoedus, especially after the *Ludi Saeculares*. At Augustus' time, terms flourished in inscriptions which did not persist afterwards, such as *symphoniaci*, which could be a way of describing a duet between chordophone and aerophone. Finally, Vincent recalls the prominent role of musicians in the triumph, in the *ludi* and finally in funerals. By studying this essential part of the Roman soundscape, Vincent refers to Assmann's concept of "cultural memory", arguing that the sound of big aerophones and the *classicum* tune as well were part of the cultural identity of the Roman people, who were regularly involved in the same "acoustic community", especially during processions.

In chapter 3, Vincent explores to what extent musicians served cities. Some were in charge of cults (e.g. a *cymbalistria* in Beneventum and a *tympanistria* in Ostia for Cybele) or of private entertainment. But many others had a civic duty, as expressed with the formula *qui sacris publicis praesto sunt*. Thus, they belonged to *collegia* with specific obligations. To explain the history of such associations, Vincent shows that the notion of "public utility" (235-46) is a key concept, especially because there was a law (*lex Iulia de collegiis*) regulating those associations. Even participation in the *ludi* was of "public utility", since Augustus promoted performing arts like pantomime as a political tool. Vincent, considering the practical conditions of performances, points out that there were periods in the year when musicians were particularly active and that, although they were badly paid and not held in high esteem, *tibicines* found an opportunity to be incorporated into the hierarchy of the city through this musical activity. The discussion of the term *synhodus* (270-4) should have included a reference to the Hellenistic associations of Dionysiac *technitai*, which were called *synodoi*.

In chapter 4, Vincent develops the question of the social status of musicians. According to his prosopographical enquiry, although many musicians fall in the category *incerti* (*ingenui* or *liberti*), they were mostly freedmen, especially among *tibicines*, *scabellarii* or *psaltes*, whereas *fidicines* were rather *ingenui*. Vincent supports the idea that the association could be a way for freedmen to forget their past as slaves, because they could get in touch with *ingenui*. He also gives interesting examples of family links: two sisters who were both musicians and a couple playing organ in Aquincum (300). There were probably differences between individuals, but there were group tendencies. The *aenatores* had a particular status, due to their civic charge.

In chapter 5, Vincent focuses on Augustus' role in defining the place of music in the political field, as Zanker did for iconography. He uses Hurlet's concept

of "dynamic dialog" (321f.) to describe the relationships between Augustus and musicians (a kind of *do ut des*). He takes the example of the monument of the *aenatores* close to the *Meta Sudans*, to show how it is related to Augutus' religious restoration. He also reads the representation of *tibicines* on reliefs as part of Augustan propaganda. He finally shows how this model was maintained by subsequent Emperors: musicians continued to make dedications to Emperors and took part in the cult of dead Emperors. Vincent convincingly argues that the music worked for the regime: *aenatores* and *tibicines* got some advantages due to their antiquity, while *scabellarii* were encouraged by the promotion of pantomime.

In the end the reader is impressed by all the questions Vincent raises and the coherent picture he is able to draw, despite the gaps in our documentation. It should also be underlined that Vincent does not dodge some problems which remain unsolved because of that incomplete material. He also acknowledges that some hypotheses are based on scant evidence, so that they cannot be considered certain. In general, this is a rigorous and methodical enquiry and a very welcome contribution to the history of Roman musicians.

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